

Monographs of the
SOCIETY FOR RESEARCH IN
CHILD DEVELOPMENT, INC.
Vol. XVI—Serial No. 53—1951

Personality Development In Adolescent Girls

LAWRENCE K. FRANK
ROSS HARRISON
ELISABETH HELLERSBERG
KAREN MACHOVER
META STEINER

136,706
S67877
V.10
C.2
Child Development Publications
1953

UNIVERSITY
OF FLORIDA
LIBRARIES



Monographs of the

SOCIETY FOR RESEARCH IN CHILD DEVELOPMENT, INC.

VOLUME XVI

SERIAL No. 53

1951

*Personality Development
in Adolescent Girls*

54-1120

LAWRENCE K. FRANK

ROSS HARRISON

ELISABETH HELLERSBERG

KAREN MACHOVER

META STEINER

EDITORIAL BOARD

136.706
567 8m
v. 16
c. 2

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS
Northwestern University

LYDIA J. ROBERTS
University of Chicago

WILLARD C. OLSON
University of Michigan

L. W. SONTAG
Antioch College

T. W. RICHARDS, Editor
Louisiana State University

HAROLD C. STUART
Harvard University

ALFRED H. WASHBURN
University of Colorado

VERA MARA
Editorial Assistant

Published by
CHILD DEVELOPMENT PUBLICATIONS
of the Society for Research in Child Development, Inc.
School of Medicine, Louisiana State University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Copyright 1953 by the Society for Research in Child Development, Inc.

Printed by
THE ANTIOCH PRESS
Yellow Springs, Ohio

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was possible only through the friendly and cooperative help given by the various institutions in which students were examined. We are greatly indebted to administrators, deans, counselors, principals, teachers, school nurses, all those who made it possible to examine the girls and provide the additional information, including the questionnaires sent to parents.

Because of the necessity for protecting the subjects of this study from recognition and identification, it is necessary to forego mentioning the specific schools and individuals to whom we are indebted for the above described help. The different schools have been given pseudonyms and identifying data of the nine individual records have been disguised.

Johnson and Johnson, Inc., and its affiliates financed this exploratory study of adolescent girls. We are grateful for their generous support and especially for their patience in waiting for the completion of this study which has taken much more time than was anticipated.

As indicated later, those responsible for interpreting the responses to the five projective methods employed in this study were the following:

Ross Harrison	Thematic Apperception Test
Elisabeth Hellersberg	Horn-Hellersberg Test
Karen Machover	Human Figure Drawings
Meta Steiner	Rorschach and Graphology

In the beginning of the project, Bonnie Wilkinson served as Clinical Secretary and in that capacity scheduled and administered the projective tests, organized the files and set up the control sheets and kept records of the staff conferences. Elinore Nemovicher served as Clinical Secretary during the latter part of the study. Patricia Miller assisted in preparing the summary chapters, checking and summing up the case histories.

In the course of the study a number of others have participated as secretaries and as volunteer assistants. Valuable suggestions were offered by Erik H. Erikson for interpreting the various responses of the younger girls according to some of his explorations with play techniques among California teen-age girls.

As in all studies, the findings raise many questions and pose new problems for further study. It is hoped that others will carry on in this area with these and other projective methods, benefiting by our experience and focusing their inquiries more sharply and fruitfully in the light of our findings.

The task of obtaining and interpreting five sets of responses for each of 300 subjects, a total of 1500 separate individual interpretations, was a

Purdue Univ. T. D. C. H. de Marin

prodigious piece of work, much harder and more difficult than anticipated when the study was planned.

The continued interest and devotion of the examiners of the study, including their repeated checking and re-checking, their testing of their findings by seeking additional and supplementary materials and consulting other studies, should be recognized as an expression of conscientious professional service, and it is gratefully acknowledged.

A partial continuation of this project, a study of adult women 20 to 30 years of age, is being prepared for early publication. It is hoped that this new study will extend the findings into the period of early maturity and show how the adolescents of a somewhat earlier period, the years before the war, faced their life tasks, as shown in their early adult lives and responses to projective tests.

The interest and support of the trustees of the Caroline Zachry Institute (which has been discontinued because of lack of funds) have been a continuing stimulus and encouragement to carry through this study. It is hoped that it will further the aims of Caroline Zachry to foster healthy personalities of children and especially of adolescents as eloquently set forth in her book, *Emotion and Conduct in Adolescents*.

LAWRENCE K. FRANK
Director

CONTENTS

<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Page</i>
1 The Purposes and Aims of the Study	7
2 The Subjects	11
3 Methods and Assumptions	19
4 Some General Aspects of Adolescent Personality	27
5 The Rorschach Test	34
6 The Thematic Apperception Test	60
7 Drawings of the Human Figure	89
8 The Horn-Hellersberg Test	138
9 Graphological Study	171
10 Interpretive Summary of Findings	194
11 Suggestions for Schools and Youth Agencies	205

Appendix

A	Sample Form of Questions to Human Figure Drawings	213
B	Individual Records	
	Prepuberal: Constance	214
	Margaret	224
	Nina	236
	Puberal: Barbara	247
	Harriet	259
	Julia	271
	Adolescent: Jean	284
	Ruth	295
	Thelma	306

ILLUSTRATIONS

<i>Plate</i>	<i>Page</i>
I Thematic Apperception Test pictures 1, 2, and 3 used in testing the 300 girls in this study	<i>facing page 80</i>
II Thematic Apperception Test pictures 4, 5, and 6 used in testing the 300 girls in this study	<i>between pages 80-81</i>
III Thematic Apperception Test pictures 7, 8, and 9 used in testing the 300 girls in this study	<i>between pages 80-81</i>
IV Thematic Apperception Test pictures 10, 11, and 12 used in testing the 300 girls in this study	<i>facing page 81</i>

ILLUSTRATIONS (Continued)

<i>Plate</i>		<i>Page</i>
V	Horn-Hellersberg Test pictures drawn by prepuberal girls ...	148
VI	Horn-Hellersberg Test pictures drawn by puberal girls	156
VII	Horn-Hellersberg Test pictures drawn by adolescent girls ...	162
VIII	Human Figure Drawings by Constance (prepuberal)	218
IX	Horn-Hellersberg Test pictures drawn by Constance (prepuberal)	223
X	Human Figure Drawings by Margaret (prepuberal)	230
XI	Horn-Hellersberg Test pictures drawn by Margaret (prepuberal)	235
XII	Human Figure Drawings by Nina (prepuberal)	242
XIII	Horn-Hellersberg Test pictures drawn by Nina (prepuberal) ..	244
XIV	Human Figure Drawings by Barbara (puberal)	252
XV	Horn-Hellersberg Test pictures drawn by Barbara (puberal) ..	256
XVI	Human Figure Drawings by Harriet (puberal)	264
XVII	Horn-Hellersberg Test pictures drawn by Harriet (puberal) ..	268
XVIII	Human Figure Drawings by Julia (puberal)	276
XIX	Horn-Hellersberg Test pictures drawn by Julia (puberal)	280
XX	Human Figure Drawings by Jean (adolescent)	288
XXI	Horn-Hellersberg Test pictures drawn by Jean (adolescent) ..	292
XXII	Human Figure Drawings by Ruth (adolescent)	300
XXIII	Horn-Hellersberg Test pictures drawn by Ruth (adolescent) ..	305
XXIV	Human Figure Drawings by Thelma (adolescent)	310
XXV	Horn-Hellersberg Test pictures drawn by Thelma (adolescent)	314

TABLES

<i>Table</i>		<i>Page</i>
1	Age Distribution of the 300 Girls by Three Stages of Development	11
2	Group Age Distribution	12
3	Distribution of Groups by Socio-Economic Levels	16
4	Distribution of Groups by Family Status	16
5	Distribution of Groups by Number of Siblings	17
6	Distribution of Groups by Parental Origins	18
7	Distribution of Number of Popular Responses Occurring in Each Rorschach Protocol	39
8	Location of Responses in Individual Rorschach Protocols	42
9	Average Percentage of Color Occurring in Each Rorschach Record	45
10	Shading Responses as Shown in the Rorschach Protocols	49
11	Incidence of Various Characteristics in the Drawings of Various Groups, Reported as Percentages	124
12	Average Occurrence per Subject of Certain H-H Test Items in Four Groups of Prepuberal Boys and Girls of the Urban Elementary School as Compared with the 300 Girls of the Present Study	144
13	Average Occurrence per Subject of Certain H-H Test Items in Five Groups of Adolescent Girls	166

THE PURPOSE AND AIMS OF THE STUDY

This study was undertaken for two major purposes:

(a) to explore the personality and emotional reactions of girls as they develop and mature from the period just before puberty, at puberty, and in later adolescence, as evidenced by their responses to a number of projective techniques.

(b) to experiment with the use of a number of projective methods on the same subjects in order to discover what each technique could contribute uniquely and as corroboration of other methods to the understanding of personality and interpretation of conduct and feelings.

The projective techniques were utilized in an attempt to discover the dynamic processes involved and to reveal what the girls cannot or will not say about themselves, either because they are not aware of, or do not understand what they think and feel or because they will not disclose such intimate personal materials.

Thus the study was an attempt to reveal something of the private or inner world of these girls, how they feel and think about themselves and their ways of living, what they fantasize, and what they believe and expect. More specifically, this study was focussed upon the psychological maturation of the adolescent girl, her image of the self and of her body, her acceptance or rejection of being female and of the feminine role, her relations with and feelings toward her parents and toward boys, her anxieties and her feelings of guilt, her hopes and fears, and how she is facing the inescapable life tasks of adolescence in our changing culture today. Also, it attempted to discover the personality, character-structures and modes of expression, of repression, and of defense used by these girls.

Obviously a study limited to 300 girls can provide only clues and tentative suggestions; but these may be of value as indications of how the adolescent girl is defending herself; what disguises, escapes, and evasions she may be using; and what psychological costs she may be paying in her attempts to meet her life tasks and social, school, family, and other demands.

These clues, derived from a limited sample, should be especially valuable because relatively little is known about adolescent girls' personality development and emotional reactions, especially about normal girls, i.e., those not selected for clinical study and treatment. To obtain such a group of normal subjects, a whole class or group of girls was examined together so that there

was no selection of individual cases. Only in a few (8) of the late adolescents who volunteered for the study was there any possible selection.

It is scarcely necessary to point out that girls and young women today are confronted with many perplexities and difficulties as they grow up and begin to take their place in contemporary life. Within the past forty to fifty years the status of women has been rapidly changing: they have begun to emerge from centuries-old restrictions, limitations, and the inferior position accorded them by law, theology, literature, and custom.

These changes have brought not only new opportunities and privileges to women, but also new responsibilities and many heavy burdens, confronting them with the necessity of making choices where formerly they had no options and of meeting the conflicting demands of marriage and maternity and the extra-familial activities and responsibilities such as jobs. Girls growing up today face new situations and have new expectations for which they can find little or no guidance in either feminine lore and traditions or in their formal education.

The perplexities encountered by women are aggravated by the changing masculine and feminine roles and the drastic alterations now occurring in home and family life and in marriage and child bearing. The centuries-old patterns of approved feminine conduct have become almost suddenly inadequate for the life women are called upon to lead today. Girls do not know what kind of women to be or what kind of wives men want and are increasingly finding themselves in conflict with their mothers. They cannot discover how to reconcile these new social demands and expectations with their own personality and emotional needs and functional requirements as maturing women.

Wherever we look we see indications of these far reaching alterations and disturbances confronting girls as they grow up and take their places as women. What each girl faces as problems of adjustment to the changing social order, as noted above, will be governed in large part by the cultural traditions of her family and how much her parents have resisted or accepted the emerging new patterns of feminine activities. How she will meet these problems and try to resolve these conflicting demands and opportunities will be governed by her personality makeup and emotional stability and maturity, as shaped by her early childhood experiences.

Fundamentally the adolescent girl is preoccupied with the life tasks which every adolescent in our culture must meet. She must accept her changing and maturing organism and become an adult female. She must try to become an independent, self-directing adult, no longer dependent upon or submissively obedient to her parents. She must win a place for herself among her age mates by conforming to the requirements of that group, often in conflict with her family and her own beliefs. She must try to clarify and accept the feminine role and select the version of that role which she

will try to play, and decide what she will do with her female sexuality. She must come to terms with our social-economic life, involving some revisions of her childish beliefs and expectations and accept in some way the responsibilities of an adult member of society, including a wage earning job in most cases. Finally, she must revise her image of the self, set the level of her aspiration, and define her goals as her basic adjustment or approach to her adult life.

How each girl faces these life tasks and how well or poorly she resolves her personal problems and conflicts, especially in interpersonal relations, is crucial for her subsequent life career as a woman and for our whole social order. As wife and as mother, her evasions or her failure to meet these adolescent life tasks may compromise her marriage and her child bearing and rearing, resulting in a variety of symptoms and emotional disturbances, including various dysfunctions and psychosomatic ills, especially menstrual disorders and "neurotic abdomens."

It seems clear that preventive medicine and mental hygiene face a challenging opportunity and a heavy responsibility in adolescence when so much could and should be done to help adolescents, especially girls, to achieve a healthier, saner, more functionally adequate maturity. Schools, churches, youth organizations, and the various professionals dealing with adolescents are, for the most part, not providing this much needed help; in some cases their well meant efforts appear to be aggravating the adolescent's already serious difficulties because of lack of understanding of what adolescents face today and of what kinds of help they acutely need.

As will be discussed in the last chapter, we can now identify with reasonable surety those girls who are especially in need of help and can recognize some of the early indications of failures or evasions. We can, if we will, provide much needed help to the teen-age girl in meeting these life tasks more effectively and with less psychological cost or permanent damage to her personality. One step toward mental health is to recognize these problems, to see how girls today are struggling with these baffling situations, are often tragically overwhelmed by the conflicts and perplexities they cannot resolve unaided and do not understand. As in public health, we can then devise methods to protect adolescents, especially these identified individuals, from the common hazards by individual "psychological immunization," by altering the environment, especially in the school, by removing or reducing the recognizable threats, and, above all, by fostering vigorous active functioning and continuing development. As we are realizing, we can help individuals only by utilizing their own strengths and freeing their potentialities for growth.

At this point it is to be noted that the usual attempts to distinguish the "normal" from the "abnormal" as sharply divided are not consistent with the conception of the adolescent personality development used in this study.

Every girl must face the same inescapable life tasks of the second decade, undergo puberty, and work out the various re-orientations and readjustments involved in growing up. Some girls are able to meet these life tasks effectively and courageously and can achieve maturity without paying too high a cost psychologically. Other girls who are not able to meet these life tasks effectively reach adult life with an inadequate resolution of these adolescent life tasks; their adult life is accordingly more or less compromised, but they are able to live and function, however handicapped, as adult women. Other girls are unable to meet their life tasks in the adolescent years; they attempt to develop various escapes, or rely upon too costly defenses, or they try to remain juvenile in order to avoid growing up. These may and often do become "abnormal" or pathological cases.

But it must be repeated, all adolescents are confronted with the same basic life tasks. Each must try to work out her individual resolutions of similar basic problems. Girls differ in their inherited and learned capacities, susceptibilities and immunities; also, they differ in the help they have received, the obstacles and resistances they have faced and, above all, in their prior life histories. At adolescence they face these problems in terms of their previous experience, especially of their pre-school period and infancy in the family where their early personalities were initially shaped.

It must be remembered that each social-economic group and each ethnic-cultural group offers the adolescent its traditional beliefs and patterns, its characteristic defenses and reassurances.¹ Some of these are not appropriate nor adequate today to guide or protect the adolescent and consequently the girls from some of these groups are finding growing up very difficult. Some exhibit what at first appears to be indications of actual or incipient pathology which have to be carefully evaluated in the light of their backgrounds. The projective methods make it possible to discover some of their underlying conflicts and reveal the turmoil in the personality of these girls and also to penetrate behind the defensive facades they may be maintaining.

This study, therefore, is offered as a contribution to the better understanding of the personality problems and emotional disturbances of adolescent girls, and as a suggested program for schools which are becoming increasingly aware of the need for help in understanding adolescents and interpreting their activities and conduct with insight into their meaning for the individual personality.

¹ Theodora M. Abel and Natalie F. Joffe. Cultural background of female puberty. *Amer. J. Psychotherapy*, 1950, 4, 90-113.

THE SUBJECTS

Since it was not possible to cover the full range of development from the prepuberal to the adult stage, it was decided to select for study girls in three stages of development, disregarding their chronological ages.

- A) Prepuberal girls, who had not reached menarche and who were presumably still juvenile in physical growth and development.
- B) Puberal girls who had recently begun to menstruate, and so had reached puberty.
- C) Adolescent girls who had presumably passed the menarche several years earlier, had established menstrual cycles, and were more nearly mature sexually.

TABLE I
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE 300 GIRLS BY THREE
STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

<i>Years . Months—Years . Months</i>	<i>Prepuberal</i>	<i>Puberal</i>	<i>Adolescent</i>
10.6—10.11	17	1	
11.0—11.5	18	2	
11.6—11.11	14	3	
12.0—12.5	15	17	
12.6—12.11	14	18	
13.0—13.5	11	17	
13.6—13.11	9	28	
14.0—14.5	2	9	
14.6—14.11		3	
15.0—15.5		2	
17.0—17.5			16
17.6—17.11			18
18.0—18.5			17
18.6—18.11			21
19.0—19.5			18
19.6—19.11			10

TABLE 2
GROUP AGE DISTRIBUTION

	10.6	11.0	11.6	12.0	12.6	13.0	13.6	14.0	14.6	15.0	15.6	17.0	17.6	18.0	18.6	19.0	19.6	
	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	to	
	10.11	11.5	11.11	12.5	12.11	13.5	13.11	14.5	14.11	15.5	16.11	17.5	17.11	18.5	18.11	19.5	19.11	
	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	
<i>Prepuberal</i>																		
(average age: 12 yrs. 1 mo.)																		
Meadowlane			2	8	12	5	6											33
Urban Elementary	17	18	7															42
Susan B. Anthony Jr. High ..			5	3	0	1	1	2										12
Universal Grammar			4	2	5	2												13
TOTAL <i>Prepuberal</i>	(17)	(18)	(14)	(15)	(14)	(11)	(9)	(2)										100
<i>Puberal</i>																		
(average age: 13 yrs. 2 mos.)																		
Meadowlane				9	8	10	13											40
Urban Elementary	1	2																3
Susan B. Anthony Jr. High ..			2	6	3	1	5	8	2	2								28
Universal Grammar			1	2	7	6	10	1	1									29
TOTAL <i>Puberal</i>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(17)	(18)	(17)	(28)	(9)	(3)	(2)								100
<i>Adolescent</i>																		
(average age: 18 yrs. 4 mos.)																		
Keats Jr. College													2	4	4	2		12
Diana College													1	4	9	12	8	34
Elizabeth Browning College ..													4	4	7	1	1	17
Knickerbocker High												15	8	5	1			29
Barbara Allen Women's Club ..												1	3		3	1	8	
TOTAL <i>Adolescent</i>												(16)	(18)	(17)	(21)	(18)	(10)	100
TOTAL <i>All Groups</i> ..	18	20	17	32	32	28	37	11	3	2		16	18	17	21	18	10	300

This gave one group of girls who were undergoing the prepuberal process and whatever physiological and psychological tensions accompany it, a second group who had passed the menarche and were concerned with the adjustments to their recent sexual development, and a third group who were on the threshold of adult life with several years of experience as young women. The age distribution of the girls in each group is given in Table I.

It will be seen that the prepuberal group ranges from ten years, six months and includes a few girls up to fourteen and a half, with the bulk of the girls being under thirteen years of age.

The puberal group ranges from ten years, six months to fifteen years, six months, thus overlapping the prepuberal group. Most of this group are in the age period from twelve years, six months to thirteen years, eleven months. All of these girls reached the menarche shortly before these examinations.

The late adolescent group ranged from seventeen years, six months to nineteen years, eleven months.

The two younger groups were undergoing the critical period of physical and psychological transition from childhood, just before and after the dramatic first stage of maturation, the menarche or first menstruation. The third and older group had reached the second, less dramatic but more significant stage of ovulation; they had established their own individual menstrual cycles and had had some experience in playing a feminine role.¹

The three groups were examined without reference to chronological age or intelligence scores, in schools where a whole class, or classes, took the several examinations. From the girls who completed all the examinations were selected at random one hundred who were known by parents and school to be prepuberal, one hundred who had recently passed the menarche, and one hundred in the later adolescent years, seventeen to nineteen years of age, a few (about eight) of whom were volunteers.

The physical status or maturity level of the two early groups was established by written reports from the parents or by interviews by the school nurse, which may be considered reasonably reliable evidence. It is doubtful that any puberal girls are included in the prepuberal group or that any prepuberal girls are treated as puberal. This classification by maturity level was made after the examinations had been administered to classes in which both prepuberal and puberal girls were present.

Table 2 shows the chronological age distribution of the subjects by schools and colleges. No attempt has been made to subdivide the puberal or late adolescent groups according to chronological age at menarche.

¹ It is recognized that within the third group there may be some who had only recently passed puberty and who are, therefore, less mature than the others. Some girls do not reach the menarche until fifteen, sixteen or seventeen, especially certain tall, thin girls who usually have scanty and sometimes difficult menstruation.

The several schools and colleges in which subjects were examined may be briefly described as follows. These descriptions were obtained from the school or college and may be taken as a fair self-appraisal, with an accurate description of the school populations.

Universal Grammar School (41 subjects; 7A to 9B). Most of the students come from very poor homes. They represent the bottom rung in the economic ladder. Slums of the very worst sort surround the school. The ethnic composition in the school can best be described by a statement proudly made by an official in the school, "It includes the whole world." Most of the students come from parents who were born in the United States, with Italy following closely. About 20 per cent of the students are Jewish.

The median I.Q. of the school is below average, although all levels of intelligence are represented. Upon graduation the majority of the students go to a vocational high school to learn a trade, many go to work in order to give financial help in the home, and some go on to high school for further academic training.

Urban Elementary School (45 subjects; grades 1 to 6). The students of this school represent a high socio-economic level. Their parents are professional people and business executives of the upper middle-class. Most of the students are second or third generation Americans, with a high percentage of Jewish students.

This is an experimental, progressive school. The students have a very high median I.Q., since they are selected primarily on this basis.

Meadowlane School (73 subjects). This is a coeducational school with students ranging from 10 to 19 years. A wide economic range is represented. The majority of the students have wealthy backgrounds and pay high tuition. About one-third of the students have scholarships and come from parents of the professional class—doctors, teachers, lawyers, etc.

Although all religions are represented, the students are predominantly Jewish. The intellectual achievement level of the school is high, with the median I.Q. at approximately 120. Practically all of the students go to college after graduation. Most of them go to out-of-town colleges since they are encouraged at school to go away from home, when entering college.

Susan B. Anthony Junior High School (41 subjects; 7A to 9B). The economic level of this school ranges from the very highest to the very lowest. Fifty-two ethnic groups are represented, and approximately 30 per cent of the population is Jewish. The majority of the students go to high school after graduation. I.Q.'s range from 52 to 192, with an average achievement level for the school as a whole.

Keats Junior College (12 subjects). These students come from the very highest economic level. The boarding students pay tuition of \$2000 a year and the day students pay \$800 a year. The school is accredited for the first two years of college and college transfer courses are given. One-half of the

curriculum is academic and the other is art. Upon graduation the students marry, travel, or get jobs.

Diana College (34 subjects). The students in this school are of the middle and lower-middle class. A large number of the students are of foreign extraction, with many Jewish students and a few Negroes. The school maintains a high academic standard and the students are above average in intelligence. Upon graduation some students marry and others have a career.

Knickerbocker High School (29 subjects). These students come from the lower-middle class. They are the children of small storekeepers, subway employees, bus drivers, dock workers, although some come from wealthy families. There is a varied ethnic composition, with a fair sized Italian population; Greeks, Ukrainians, Russians, Chinese, and Puerto Ricans are well represented. There is also a 25 per cent Negro and 20 per cent Jewish population.

The average I.Q. for the school is 103. This is an all girls school where excellent work is done in art, dressmaking, home economics, and English. This school is a technical rather than a vocational school. Approximately 25 per cent of the students continue their education at day school or night school, either immediately upon graduation or after working for a period.

Elizabeth Browning College (17 subjects). This is a small four-year girls college, with an enrollment of about 350 students, most of whom live on the campus. The school's approach is progressive and experimental. The girls take three courses a year, working individually on projects in each course under the supervision of an instructor. The courses elected generally fall into the following three categories, listed in order of popularity: arts, social studies, and applied science.

Tuition is approximately \$2000 a year, but 22 per cent of the students have scholarships. Although most of the girls come from the Eastern Seaboard States, they represent all countries. Between 30 and 40 per cent of the students are Jewish, and there are a few Negro and foreign students.

After graduation many of these girls make careers for themselves; this group is also known to have a high birth rate.

Barbara Allen Women's Club (8 subjects). This is a club for young women who are employed in various office and commercial jobs. The members of the club are usually high school graduates, and come from various parts of the country. They meet in the evening for discussions, recreation, etc.

The subjects in the two younger groups were all students in public or private schools and represented a range of socio-economic levels.

Of the 100 subjects in the prepuberal group, 33 were in a private school and came from an upper income group, while 42 came from a middle income group, largely professional workers; 12 came from a lower-middle

TABLE 3
DISTRIBUTION OF GROUPS BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC LEVELS

	<i>Prepuberal</i>	<i>Puberal</i>	<i>Adolescent</i>
Upper Income	33	40	29
Middle Income	42	3	34
Lower-Middle	12	29	19
Lower Income	13	28	18
	100	100	100

group and 13 from a lower income group. The prepuberal subjects, therefore, were largely from a middle and upper income group.

Of the 100 subjects in the puberal group, 40 came from the private school with upper income families, three from the middle income group, 29 from the lower-middle group and 28 from the lower income group.

The late adolescent group were students in senior high school and college, except for eight who were employed. Twenty-nine attended private, high tuition colleges for women; 34 attended a municipal college, and 29 attended a public high school. These adolescent subjects were predominantly from the upper and middle income groups, with approximately one-third from the lower income group.

The predominance of middle and upper groups has the advantage of sampling the socio-economic groups in which there is a maximum pressure on the girls for educational progress and social success. In these groups more rapid changes are taking place in family life, in education, and in the rearing of daughters, and hence the girls from these families reflect many of the circumstances and difficulties previously discussed.

Reports from the families of the three groups show that the families of the two younger groups were largely intact, while the families of the older group showed more marital conflicts and divorces.

TABLE 4
DISTRIBUTION OF GROUPS BY FAMILY STATUS

<i>Group</i>	<i>Parents Alive and Together</i>	<i>One Parent Deceased</i>	<i>Divorced or Separated</i>	<i>Family Breakup Unexplained—living with one parent</i>
Prepuberal ..	89	3	6	2
Puberal	82	1	6	10
Adolescent ..	69	4	4	16

SIBLINGS

Of the 100 prepuberal girls, 29 were only children and 46 had only one sibling. Thus 75, or three-fourths, of these younger girls came from one- or two-child families, with the advantages and handicaps often present in such small families.

Of the 100 puberal girls, 14 were only children and 43 had only one sibling, so that 57, or about half, were from one- or two-child families.

Among the 100 adolescent girls, 19 were only children, and 34 had only one sibling, giving about half with one- or two-child families.

Examination of the figures for the various schools indicates that the families of the upper and middle groups in no case had more than three children, while the lower-middle and lower income groups had larger families, with six or more children in a few cases. However, the majority of the subjects came from small families with one or two children.

TABLE 5
DISTRIBUTION OF GROUPS BY NUMBER OF SIBLINGS

<i>Group</i>	0	1	2	3	4	5	6 or more
Prepuberal	29	46	12	9	1	2	1
Puberal	14	43	21	6	9	2	5
Adolescent	19	34	30	9	6	0	2
TOTAL (300)	62	123	63	24	16	4	8

HEALTH AND ABSENCES FROM HOME

Reports indicated relatively few accidents except for the adolescent group, of whom 20 per cent reported accidents. Serious illnesses were reported by 27 per cent of the 300 subjects examined, with the frequency being somewhat greater in the adolescent group.

Of the 100 prpuberal girls, 37 had been away to camp for varying periods; 21 of the puberal group and 20 of the adolescents had been to camp. Other absences from home were insignificant except for the older group, 44 of whom reported being away from home. As would be expected, the girls who went to camp were from the upper and middle income groups, with only nine campers reported from the other income groups.

ORIGIN OF PARENTS

The ethnic-nationality-cultural backgrounds of the subjects are important as indicating the greater or lesser persistence of traditions and child-rearing practices derived from other lands. Over half (184) of the mothers and 175

of the fathers of the subjects were born in the United States. Seventeen different countries were represented by the other parents, the most frequent being Russia (25 mothers and 28 fathers).

Partial returns from two schools, where puberal and prepuberal subjects were examined, showed an even wider distribution of nationality backgrounds of grandparents. Thus, even for the girls with parents born in the United States, it is safe to assume that their family traditions still persist, especially since in the schools not reporting grandparents, the families were known to be first and second generation Americans.

TABLE 6
DISTRIBUTION OF GROUPS BY PARENTAL ORIGINS

	<i>Largest Group</i>	<i>2nd Largest Group</i>	<i>3rd Largest Group</i>
<i>Prepuberal</i>	United States 79 mothers 74 fathers	Russia 8 mothers 8 fathers	Austria 2 mothers 2 fathers Italy 1 mother 3 fathers
<i>Puberal</i>	United States 54 mothers 48 fathers	Italy 14 mothers 15 fathers	Russia 9 mothers 12 fathers
<i>Adolescent</i>	United States 51 mothers 53 fathers	Russia 8 mothers 8 fathers	Germany 7 mothers 7 fathers Poland 7 mothers 7 fathers

SUMMARY OF PARENTAL ORIGINS

<i>Country</i>	<i>Mothers</i>	<i>Fathers</i>
United States	184	175
Russia	25	28
Italy	18	22
Poland	12	11
Germany	9	9
Austria	6	5
	253	250

The remainder came from the British West Indies, Canada, China, Cuba, Greece, Puerto Rico, Rumania, etc.

METHODS AND ASSUMPTIONS

In any research the assumptions made by the investigator are of crucial importance. How he conceives and formulates the problem to be studied is governed by his assumptions, often not recognized and rarely made explicit. These assumptions, expressed or implied in the statement of his problem, largely direct the choice of the method he will employ to make observations or to obtain his data, how he will treat those data and interpret them.

As pointed out over 25 years ago by Alexis Carrel, a technique is always the servant of an idea, a method is that which is used to seek or find what has been conceived and expected. This is not to suggest that we cannot be objective and rigorous in our methods but to point out that we can be genuinely objective by recognizing our assumptions and preconceptions, not by being crudely empirical or naively believing that we are being objective by ignoring the concepts and the theories which guide our thinking.

The assumptions underlying this study, as nearly as they can be made explicit, may be stated in terms of the conception of personality as a dynamic process operating to maintain the individual's "private world" as he meets life, its denials and opportunities, its demands and prohibitions, and all the other terms descriptive of living in a social-cultural world.

This conception of the personality process and of the individual's personal life wherein that process operates implies that each individual comes to adult life in our social-cultural world utilizing the cultural patterns of thinking, believing, acting, and feeling, but always in a highly idiomatic way, expressive of the traditions of the individual's family, of the age or maturity group of the individual, and more especially of the life experience of the individual wherein he or she has learned his or her idiosyncratic ways of thinking, of acting, and especially of feeling. It is this idiomatic process that patterns perception and action and operates by imputing meanings and values to all situations, events, and people that we may interpret as evidence of the individual's private world (1).

It was further assumed that in order to approach adolescent girls with any hope of penetrating behind the strong defenses and evasions they exhibit to adults, especially to questionnaires, interviews, standardized tests, and inventories of attitudes, personality traits, and emotions, it would be necessary to employ indirect methods. Moreover, it was essential that this study as far as possible avoid disturbing the subjects and precipitating any crisis in their lives.

Projective methods offer the only systematic method of gaining access to the individual's inner world, apart from the clinical procedures used in hypnotherapy, narcotherapy, and prolonged analysis. While everything a person does is revealing of his personality—his posture and gait, gestures, facial expressions, tone of voice, physiological reactions, these are difficult to observe and record and to interpret.

Accordingly, projective methods were employed as essential to the study of the personality process and of the "private worlds" of the subjects as conceived and formulated in this study.

The projective methods selected for use were considered especially relevant and appropriate to this inquiry, to this age group of subjects. They were considered to be productive of naive, revealing responses, and were capable of being administered in groups. They were explained to the subjects as part of a study, for which there were no right or wrong answers or "marks," since what each one did in response to the "task" was considered as an individualized performance significant on its own merit and content.

As indicated earlier, it was expected that each of the projective methods would elicit a variety of responses from each girl. These would supplement and correct each other, being integrated into a coherent, articulated body of illuminating findings for each of the three groups of girls.

The following projective methods were used in this study in the manner indicated:

Rorschach Cards. The Harrower slides were projected on a screen before a class or group in a room sufficiently lighted so that the subjects could write their responses in the Rorschach booklet. This booklet provides space for written replies and also small reproductions of each card for showing the location of each response (thus providing a partial equivalent for the "inquiry").

Thematic Apperception Test. Twelve pictures were used, six from the Murray set for females, six selected from a set not in general use. (See Appendix for reproduction of these pictures.) These were projected before the class on a screen in a darkened room for one minute. Then the room was illuminated for writing. The pictures were not withdrawn during this writing period, but could be seen only dimly. The stories were written in ink on ordinary paper. These written stories were also used for the graphological interpretations.

Drawing of a Figure. Pencils with erasers and two sheets of plain paper were distributed to the class who were asked to draw a person and later to draw a person of the opposite sex.¹ On the back of these sheets were a number of questions designed to elicit a description of the person who had

¹ See Karen Machover (3) for detailed description of the test and its interpretation.

been drawn (see Appendix for these questions). Thus each subject furnished two drawings plus replies on each figure drawn, providing both the drawings for interpretation and an inquiry for further illumination of what the subject had projected. The subjects were asked to check those replies which applied to themselves as well as the figures drawn.

Horn-Hellersberg Test (2). Pencils and the set of printed sheets were distributed to the class. These provide, on each of three pages, four rectangles approximately 3 by 5 inches in size, which contain a variety of broken lines to be utilized in making a drawing in each rectangle, plus a blank, empty rectangle on the back sheet. (See Appendix for these sheets.) The class was requested to draw in each rectangle anything they chose and to give it a title. They were asked to draw spontaneously in the empty or blank rectangle on the last page and also to indicate which picture was hardest, which was easiest to draw, and which they liked the most. These comments served as a substitute for the usual clinical inquiry.

Graphological Interpretation. From the handwriting on the TAT stories an interpretation of each subject was made. While this interpretation was made by the same examiner who also interpreted the Rorschach protocols, the two sets of interpretations were done independently of each other.

The administration of these six tests required from four to six hours, which, however, were not consecutive but, in most cases, spread over one to two weeks in periods of one hour each.

By the above described procedure, each of the 300 subjects provided six sets of projective responses. These were individually studied and interpreted girl by girl, then by maturity groups. All the responses of the pre-puberal group were studied and interpreted first, then later the puberal and finally the late adolescents. These findings are presented by each examiner in later chapters.

Out of each of these three maturity groups, three individual girls were selected as individual cases for each group, two showing good or satisfactory adjustment more or less typical for that maturity level, and one showing poor adjustment or serious personality disturbance for that maturity level. These nine case studies are given later with detailed protocols or responses and certain illustrative materials showing the kinds of responses given to the different projective tests by these cases, or by girls of their level of maturity. (Illustrative materials are used since it would otherwise be impossible to conceal the identity of the girl.)

The responses to each of the different projective methods and their interpretation were discussed in staff conferences designed to reveal agreements and differences, not only in ratings but in the interpretation of the individual girl's personality. In these staff discussions it became clear that each of the different methods provided access to different aspects or dimensions

(not measurements but characteristics) of the multi-dimensional configuration or process we call personality. These different findings on the same individual girl made possible a fuller, deeper understanding of that personality and showed her major problems or difficulties and her modes of adjustment, repression, defense, and release or escape. They also served to corroborate and to verify the other interpretations or to show disagreements in the other interpretations. Each test result supplemented and enlarged the others by showing how the same personality dimensions and processes were revealed by different techniques and could be interpreted in different ways, thus providing additional, sometimes unique, occasionally contradictory findings, not available through the other techniques.

It seems clear from this study that each projective technique gives access to or reveals what it can disclose more effectively (or even uniquely) than any other technique. Each projective technique operates with greater or less differences at each level of maturity, requiring careful and delicate modifications in the accepted clinical use and interpretation of that test. Moreover, there are some indications that at different maturity levels some tests are more revealing than others. A set or battery of projective findings is highly desirable and even necessary for understanding an individual personality, especially during the period of rapid growth and development of adolescence.

It also seems clear that as projective psychology develops, the special capacity and the suitability of each test or method will become increasingly evident so that the clinician or student of personality development will be able to select those tests or techniques which will be most appropriate and effective for his purpose, and to combine them for fuller understanding of subjects of each maturity level and perhaps of different socio-economic levels and cultural backgrounds.

Also, it should be noted that certain projective tests, or perhaps testers, appear to operate with a certain bias toward deviant or pathological interpretations. Thus, interpretations from one method need to be checked by the use of other methods that will reveal other possibilities for interpreting the personality or show otherwise undisclosed potentialities for growth not revealed by the other tests.

Another finding of this study which has considerable methodological significance is that the application of clinical norms of interpretation, derived primarily from adult cases, to other ages or maturity levels, such as teen age girls, may involve serious misunderstandings and possibly erroneous interpretation.

Thus the pre-puberal girl's numerical constriction in the use of color on the Rorschach plates would be significant signs of emotional difficulties in an adult, but are apparently "normal" responses of girls at this level of maturity and with their backgrounds. Likewise, concern for the body and its

appearance, which might be indicative of strong narcissistic inclinations in an older person, may be expected in a girl whose body is undergoing the rapid changes of puberty and who is subject to all the demands of the glamour girl cult, with its emphasis on buxom breasts, its pressure to appear older and attractive.

The findings and interpretations of each examiner on the three groups have been written up in the chapters which are designated by the names of the projective test or method employed. Each chapter has been prepared by the individual author to present his or her materials and interpretations in the manner and style congenial to each. The chapters are not, therefore, strictly comparable, and do not follow a set pattern of exposition.

Each individual examiner is responsible for his or her presentation, for the specific methods of interpreting the projective material, and for the generalizations and conclusions as presented in his or her chapters. While the other examiners cannot be assumed to concur with all the statements in each chapter, there is a large measure of concurrence in the different findings, with certain reservations about detailed interpretations. The detailed findings and the further interpretations, which will be analyzed and published later by the individual authors, may provide useful clues to those who are dealing with these age levels, either clinically or in studies.

This absence of uniformity may be a handicap to some readers who may find it difficult to grasp the over all picture of each group of girls as given partially in each of the separate chapters. But this procedure gives each examiner full scope to present, interpret, and organize his or her findings in the way that is most appropriate to the material.

These idiomatic statements of findings are indicative of the present state of clinical psychology, more especially of projective methods. They have not, and probably never will, reach the formal quantified findings of standardized tests. There is also the problem of reporting findings, not in terms of clinical diagnostic categories (upon which considerable agreement and uniformity is possible) but in terms of the still perplexing problem of the development and expression of personality of non-clinical subjects, for which we have no established categories or norms.

As in all studies of this kind, there are a number of processes in operation. There is the instrument or projective method employed with its specific dynamics and stimulation, operating to provoke each subject to give responses which are both a function of the test and also of the individual subject. The subject "projects" meaning into the test, but the test evokes certain kinds of projections and not others, appealing differently to each subject. (See Note at end of chapter.)

Thus, the Rorschach apparently reveals some of the long established dynamics of the personality "structure" or organization, the persistent

affective reactions, and the way of approaching life with different characteristics, whether rigidly and constricted, or flexibly and spontaneously, etc.

The TAT gives many clues to the subject's interpersonal relations and her more specific hopes and fears, expectations and memories, as contrasted with the more generalized responses, such as anxiety and hostility in the Rorschach and other tests. The TAT provides insights particularly into family interrelationships, emotional and social adjustment, and psychosexual attitudes.

The Drawing of a Figure gives the subject's image of her own body, areas of concern or anxiety over her body and organic functions, also her defenses, concealments, and similar disguises, as well as her wishes or aspirations for body form, features, etc. The replies to questions on each figure drawing reveal her evaluations and aspirations for others and for herself. The other projective tests do not elicit this material so clearly.

The Horn-Hellersberg Test offers the subject an opportunity to picture a variety of concrete presentations of her environment or to draw sheer fantasy products. They may be original or stereotyped, but the arrangements chosen become symbolic for every developmental level. Since the drawings must be adapted to the given lines, the completed picture permits an interpretation of how the girl meets the challenge of any task in life, whether her response is direct or evasive, whether she rigidly follows the pattern set, or whether she handles her own ideas freely. These findings portraying the girl's "relation to reality" (as Elisabeth Hellersberg phrases it) extend those of other projective methods and provide much unique material on the individual girl and on the characteristics of each group of girls.

Graphological interpretations provide clues to the course of an impulse, how much of it and with what type of control it is transposed into behavior. The energy used in the various spheres of experience (zones) is reflected in the intensity of movement in the handwriting and in the emphasis given to certain portions (regions) of handwriting.

Only a part of the immense amount of material that has been collected can be presented in this monograph. It is expected that the several examiners or interested students will be able to work over these materials and give further reports on their methodological implications, their significance for understanding cultural and ethnic backgrounds, and for better understanding of the educational, recreational and other requirements of adolescent girls in a large city.

Obviously, this study has not proved anything, nor has it found *the* answer to adolescent problems; it makes no claims to finality or generality about all adolescent girls. This study was undertaken as an exploratory inquiry which will be fruitful if it stimulates others to pursue further investigations along these lines with boys as well as girls in the critical second decade of life.

NOTE ON METHODS

Each projective method operates to evoke or stimulate responses that may arise from different "levels" of the personality or from different processes operating in the individual's private world. Each method may reveal how the personality has organized or structuralized her "life space" as she invests the world around her with the peculiar meanings and emotional significance that different aspects or areas of living had for her, so that she can and does deal with certain situations and relationships in a more or less rational way, perhaps intellectualizing her experiences there. In still other situations she may treat events and people primarily in terms of feelings. In other situations she may exhibit her age group stereotypes or the current fashions, while in other areas she may attempt to work out her own acute problems since she finds situations and materials that are more pliable and responsive to her needs, as in art, creativity, music dramatizations, and spontaneous play activities.

Each projective method, it must be remembered, also requires or utilizes responses in a particular medium, such as story-telling or writing, using language for narration, as in TAT; language to communicate images and fantasies of selective perception as in Rorschach; using drawing as in H-H and Drawing of a Person; using motor activities and skills as in graphology. In other techniques not used here, the subjects manipulate clay, finger paints, easel paints, crayons and pencils, dolls and miniature life toys as "worlds," specialized shapes as in the mosaic test, Vigotsky and the other two or three dimensional forms and patterns. In these the individual perceives the projective materials presented in the technique visually, tactually, or by hearing, or by a combination of these and responds as indicated by different activities, alone or in combinations, which are interpreted as products of the dynamic circular processes of the personality.

In her perception and her responsive activities, each individual operates in her own idiomatic way, some being more visual, others more auditory, or motor or tactually perceptive and sensitive and also differing in their preferred or more habitual patterns of activity, such as speaking, writing, manipulating, etc. Moreover, individuals differ apparently in their capacity for imagery, for spatial or temporal organization of experience as well as in awareness, understanding, sympathy, and insight.

All of these differences are significant and must be recognized, at least conceptually, so that we do not commit the "stimulus fallacy" of assuming that a stimulus-situation will mean to the subject what the experimenter assumes it means and often insists that it must mean, as an attempt to be objective and precise. The meaning of any stimulus-situation or experience is governed, to a greater or lesser extent, by what the perceiving-responding subject imputes to that situation-experience. Social and cultural patterning of perception-responses to many life situations and symbols, signs and signals, may minimize these idiosyncratic variations but rarely except by intensive training can eliminate them.

Because of this essentially idiomatic performance in all tests and in all living, it is necessary to look for the underlying processes at work in the individual's own perception-responses, recognizing the equivalents in those diversified products and inferring similar processes or dissimilar processes operating to

produce such equivalent products. Here the customary formulations of cause and effect or stimulus and response, of hidden assumed mechanisms and specific, ad hoc, self acting forces, usually cited as metaphors or analogues, become questionable as not relevant or applicable to living processes and the dynamic circular operations they exhibit. Nor is it desirable in study of living processes to abstract various traits or other units and constituents selected out of the observable operations and endow these selected "factors" with highly specific potencies to explain the circular processes in which the other essential components and operations are ignored.

For these reasons interpretations of responses to projective techniques may be quantified and treated by the usual statistical methods for discovering central tendencies, correlation, and other relations between two variables, but they will yield their most fruitful and productive interpretations of the dynamic processes of the living personality when treated more holistically and clinically, where each "item" that is recognized and utilized in the interpretation is seen relatively—that is, in relation to the identified individual and to all other "items" in his responses. This is more difficult and is subject to the errors and distortions of clinical judgment but, even with these hazards, it seems preferable to the less well recognized dangers of putting the individual within the "strait jacket" of norms and averages.

REFERENCES

1. FRANK, L. K. *Projective Methods*. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1948.
2. HELLERSBERG, ELISABETH. *The Individual's Relation to Reality in Our Culture*. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1950.
3. MACHOVER, KAREN. *Figure Drawings*. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1948.
4. SHUTTLEWORTH, F. K. The Adolescent Period: A Graphic Atlas. *Monogr. Soc. Res. Child Develpm.*, 1949, 14, No. 1.
5. SHUTTLEWORTH, F. K. The Adolescent Period: A Pictorial Atlas. *Monogr. Soc. Res. Child Develpm.*, 1949, 14, No. 2.

SOME GENERAL ASPECTS OF ADOLESCENT
PERSONALITY

This chapter presents some generalizations on what is happening to the girls on the three levels of maturity studied, as a preface to the following interpretations of the different projective materials.

In this attempt at generalizations about each level of maturity, the emphasis is upon the equivalent patterns exhibited and the processes which may be inferred as operating on these three levels of maturity. Thus, an initial statement is offered on these processes of development and maturation on each level.

Every individual girl is different with her unique heredity, body build, temperament, and life history, but some of these individual differences are often subdued, even curbed at different periods in the individual's development, while others may be accentuated and appear more significant, or at least more noticeable, in an individual than her similarity to others.

This contradictory effort at attempted individuality and also at conformity appears clearly in the second decade of life. The individual girl in that age period is striving to be like her age mates in many ways, trying to reduce her feeling of being different, her fear of being an individual. She wishes to be one of a more or less homogeneous group, since in their patterns and acceptance she can safely assert herself. She wants to be like the others but to be better than the group, to belong but to be herself. Outer similarity and enforced conformity may therefore hide pronounced differences, even extreme deviations, some of which the girl may be aware of but which she may only feel as tensions of her inescapable individuation as an organism-personality, with all the stress and strain of growing up, which that process involves.

It may be re-emphasized that the differences we observe and measure in individuals are variations in the basic male or female organism, with its balance of bi-sexuality and its idiomatic functional-structural-behavioral dimensions. Moreover, these individuals are all growing up in our culture and our society where, despite differences in social-economic levels and in many other aspects of homes and neighborhoods with the many variations in traditions of different ethnic-cultural groups, nevertheless, the tasks of life, the demands, expectations, prohibitions placed upon adolescents are basically similar. Hence, there are both similarities, likenesses, almost

identities, and also many variations and deviations, both biological and social, out of which emerge the many equivalent "solutions" that each girl exhibits as she individually attempts to reconcile her biological development and her education and socialization. She must be *like* others and yet *different*; she must conform to her group's requirements yet deviate as an individual. Her personality emerges at the end of the second decade as a product of her life experiences from birth on, of her socialization and of her individuation, as they have been specifically patterned and fixated in the second decade of life.

For the adolescent girl attempting to manage the many changes, transitions, and transformations that are unavoidable in the second decade, there are a variety of possible "solutions" and "defenses" provided by her cultural tradition or permitted by our society, each having its advantages and disadvantages, its benefits and its costs, physiological, psychological, and social. "Solutions" appear as two contrasted, sometimes conflicting, modes of approach and response: the active, direct, more or less adequate attempt to deal with these problems of growing up productively as stages in her ongoing maturation; or the attempt to ignore, evade, postpone, and even to escape from those exigent problems.

Each girl may try a number of different approaches; in one area she may be very courageous and "realistic," while in another area she may strive to go on as before, resisting change, fearful of new demands and pressures, internal and external. Thus, a girl may face up to school requirements and to group expectations, mastering whatever is expected, but evade and postpone the readjustment of her relations to her family, continuing to be at home the docile, obedient child or the dependent child. Another girl may approach group situations constructively but seek frantically to escape the recognition of her own maturing sexuality and to avoid close interpersonal relations. But each girl must somehow try to reconcile these often incongruous, if not conflicting, attempts to meet life.

Each girl, as an individual personality, does the best she can with her various abilities, her body type, functional capacities and processes as they have been modified and developed by her life experience, but always she is governed by what she understands and feels about life situations.

What the different projective techniques disclose are these individual personality patterns, how the girl functions and organizes her life space, how and what meanings she puts into the world and how she feels about others and about herself, usually with little or no awareness of these patterns nor any insight into her mode of living.

These different ways of growing up can then be evaluated as having a favorable or unfavorable prognosis, as leading most probably to a "normal" outcome or as leading to increasingly serious disturbances and possibly to

mental disorders. While these probable outcomes have not been ignored, the study has focussed not so much on diagnosis, as upon delineation of the personality process and the variety of ways adolescent girls are meeting life today. The study has sought to reveal these similarities or equivalences as well as the genuine differences among these girls.

Because of the dual, often contradictory, aspects of adolescence, attempts at a summary or generalizations about the three developmental groups in this study are of necessity subject to many reservations and exceptions. One can describe the predominant characteristics of each of the three groups and point out many common or equivalent patterns of activity, of response and of feeling, yet at the same time in making those statements, one is aware of specific girls who may be more or less correctly described in those terms but whose conformity is not significant of their personality, indeed may be misleading.

As indicated earlier, every girl in the second decade of life is undergoing much the same process of maturation as other girls, as she grows and develops, slowly or rapidly matures into an adult woman and faces the inescapable life tasks presented by our culture to adolescent females. But, as emphasized above, the same basic process operating in a unique organism, with her highly idiosyncratic personality and life history, will of necessity produce different observable products, give rise to different ways of meeting those life tasks according to what they mean to the individual girl and what she brings to them as capabilities and handicaps, as susceptibilities and immunities, all the accumulated variations in organism-personality and in the life space of the individual girl.

Since these life tasks involve fundamental alterations not only in her organism (body size, shape, sexual development, etc.), but in her image of self, her relations with her parents and siblings, with other girls and with boys, especially of her own or slightly older age, with the people and situations of the social world into which she is being increasingly drawn, she must undergo a variety of changes. These occur as the specific identified girl, as an organism and as a personality, with all her learned patterns, continues, yet changes, the earlier developed body and previously formed personality persisting, yet yielding to the ongoing processes of growth, of development, of maturation and of reorientation in all her relations to others, to the world around her and to herself, that produce the characteristics of the young adult woman.

For this underlying process of persistence with change, of continuity, biological, psychological, social, etc., with sometimes minor and sometimes radical alterations, the term *transformation* may be used to indicate this dual process which is not contradictory and inexplicable, but is the underlying process in all living organisms: the continuous activity whereby the

organism persists as an identified individual but changes as it grows, matures, and ages, by a process of superseding and replacement or of continuing to exhibit the old with decreasing frequency or magnitude while beginning to reveal the new with increasing frequency or magnitude, until the old is largely superseded or becomes dormant, and is almost wholly replaced by the new.

These transformations occur in the adolescent girl who shows conflicting, often opposite patterns, advancing and retreating, precociously mature at one time and then seeming to return to an earlier stage at another time. These alterations, especially the return of earlier patterns, are often provoked and maintained by parents and other adults who may treat the girl as a young adult and so elicit more mature conduct at one time, but at another time treat her as a child and so evoke juvenile, if not infantile, behavior. Each girl, therefore, is a bundle of different maturities, rarely synchronized during adolescence.

Growing up, as we call it, imposes upon the adolescent the necessity of these transformations, specifically in organic functioning and patterns of motor activity, in overt conduct and interpersonal relations, in thinking and judging, and in the "life space" which the individual has organized during childhood and now must reorganize with a new image of the self as a young adult woman with all the new awareness, the increased susceptibility and vulnerability to some, as well as the increased indifference or resistance to other situations, particularly interpersonal relations.

For the adolescent girl this requires far-reaching alterations, sometimes involving dramatic, even catastrophic, changes in the meanings and values which she has been accustomed to give to people, to situations, events, to herself. To reorient one's life space, to learn to give up the old and familiar and to accept the new, often strange, even frightening, meanings and new goals with the new patterns and relationships they require, while continuing to live in the same family where parents remain relatively unchanged and expect her to be the same, to study, to work and play, is indeed a formidable task.

A recognition of the complexity and the extreme difficulty of this process of growing up is essential to an understanding of adolescent girls since such a recognition gives some clues to the intense activity occurring in the "inner world" of adolescents as they undertake to reorganize their "life space" and reorient their private worlds.

Likewise, a realization that this same underlying process of transformation is taking place in all girls in our society, but that the outcomes are highly individualized and different, helps to reconcile the generalizations we make with the obvious differences and variations. Each girl undergoes these transformations, "with a difference," and each, by what might be

called psychological inertia, persists as a personality along the lines she has already developed before adolescence, especially in her defenses, often resisting alteration. Usually she yields or gives up earlier patterns as she accepts what her age mates are doing, while often rebelling inside. Through fortunate contacts and relations with understanding persons, she may be helped to escape from the coercion of her previous patterns and feelings and so be enabled to go on maturing. Some girls during adolescence meet with experiences which seriously stunt or distort what before adolescence was fairly wholesome and promising.

Thus we may say that the girl in the second decade of life is to be to a greater or less extent preoccupied with these many transformations that focus all her reveries and reflections and her feelings and render her both alert and withdrawn, active and passive. She may be more or less childish and immature, precocious, even sophisticated, practical and largely objective, or dreamy and lacking orientation to place and time—appearing as one of the many types by which we classify individuals according to various indications and symptoms. She may utilize not merely the overt actions and speech of the types used in clinical assessment, but exhibit the “style of life,” the way of meeting the world with similar modes of approach or of evasion and defense as her characteristic pattern of meeting people and situations. Each girl may use the familiar “mental mechanisms” of our clinical interpretations, exhibiting what is similar to, if not actually neurotic, even psychotic patterns, which, however, do not ordinarily persist and become fixated.

In the post-puberal girl these childish patterns usually appear less frequently, but one cannot always tell from overt speech and action whether the former childish patterns have been replaced by a genuine transformation or have been continued in disguises that may deceive, not only the observer but the individual girl herself who considers herself as grown up while still acting and feeling in childish ways.

In the late adolescent girls the alternation between former childhood patterns and new patterns usually has ceased to be apparent, except in those girls who have been unable to grow up and so continue their earlier patterns. These girls may undergo even greater tension and strain in attempting to reconcile their otherwise adult living with these persisting childish ways of thinking and feeling in their private worlds.

Adolescents usually are fearful of revealing their thoughts and feelings, of letting adults gain access to their reveries, their worries, and aspirations. They have usually been scolded and criticized by parents, teachers, and other adults and do not trust them. While preoccupied with these personal problems and eager to find out what they do, they will not ordinarily tell adults, even when in urgent need of help.

The various projective techniques, as previously discussed, provide access to these inner worlds in which the individual carries on the endless conversations with herself and responds to each situation and especially every interpersonal situation, with the feelings that her interpretation of those events and persons serve to evoke. Since the girl is undergoing these alternations between old and new, is sometimes more, and often less, mature in what she says and does, she is not always consistent and stable. Her conduct will reflect the changes in her private world and the variations in her efforts to establish a new life space.

Here it should be re-emphasized that each personality selectively perceives the world around her, every event and person of which she is aware, in terms of the meanings and emotional significance that she herself invests, imputes, or projects into her perceptions, thus establishing the "life space" in which she lives and also creating her own personal version of the difficulties and problems of this age period.

The girl who has become aware, not just intellectually but emotionally and personally, of the meaning of sexual relations, or has had some form of heterosexual experience or its surrogates, has a new orientation to life. She will therefore perceive much that she formerly was unaware of in others and in herself, and her reveries and fantasies will be altered as will her interpersonal relations. She may become very cautious and defensive or more or less provocative, intentionally, or without realizing what she is doing and saying. She will reorient her life space in terms of its sexual significance for her as a young woman and of its meaning for her present and the new relationships into which she is being impelled.

In the maturing adolescent girl the various transformations do not always occur synchronously and harmoniously; indeed, as the clinical evidence indicates, incongruities, discrepancies, and severe conflicts may be present in almost all adolescent personalities; but these may not become "frozen" or fixated except in the personality of those who are seriously disturbed. In adolescents these contradictions and discrepancies may appear or be revived by the very projective material presented to the girl who has not yet resolved them but may do so effectively later without permanent distortion. Hence, the clinical signs of what is pathological or symptomatic of incipient disorders in adults may not be equally prognostic in early (prepuberal and puberal) adolescents who can, and often do, exhibit indications of conflicts and deviations that may be temporary phases. The clinical indications of past mental disorders are, however, usually reliable signs of psychopathology in adolescents.

The foregoing discussion may be informing as a preface to the findings of this study. As a reading of the several chapters indicates, the responses of the girls in each developmental group to the different projective materials

are not always consistent. Some of these differences are probably reflections of incongruities among the girls in each group. Some girls may have responded to one of the projective techniques with what are indications of conflict or disturbance in them, while others in that same maturity group may exhibit few or no such indications, either being free from such difficulties or not responsive to that technique.

Hence, as previously stated, the findings of several different projective techniques are desirable, if not necessary, to discover what is significant in any personality, especially when exploring the personalities of teen age and adolescent girls who are undergoing the various transformations of the second decade of life.

THE RORSCHACH TEST

By META STEINER

Rorschach tests were administered to the schoolgirls in groups according to the Harrower method, using her booklet forms. In order to obtain the richest material possible for interpretation, a few additions were made to the instructions printed on the booklets which were first read to the girls. After the performance proper, the administrator said: "Try to describe the various things you have seen in as detailed a manner as possible, so that I shall be able to find them later accurately in their position. Mention everything, and particularly don't forget that there are no such things as "people" or "animals" in the world; people are always men or women or girls or boys; and if you just say "an animal," how can I tell whether you meant a kangaroo or a fly?" The possibility of direct suggestion as interference with the subjects' own ideas appears reduced to a minimum, as only one "kangaroo" response occurred in all of the records obtained and the number of "fly" interpretations did not exceed expectancy. The further instruction to "describe them exactly in their positions" was designed to elicit movement responses without prompting them. Subjects who showed resistance to movement apparently interpreted this instruction as requesting greater precision in regard to location.

The records proved very valuable and their usefulness probably comes fairly close to that of individually administered Rorschach tests. Whether the relatively scanty color responses in the prepuberal groups might be somewhat related to a diminution of color values on the screen as compared with the printed cards, was a question which concerned us a great deal and which we tried to evaluate in the light of the fact that the older groups responded well to color. There is, of course, no theoretical evidence for the view that a difference in the testing material affects different subjects in the same way and to equal extent; yet the fact that one group appeared to give the expected amount of color reactions seemed to indicate to us that it was not the testing material but the lack of responsiveness in the younger girls which caused this very low number of color responses.

Altogether, the group Rorschach method was felt to have proved satisfactory in terms of yielding interesting (although not decisive) clues with regard to the adjustment of these girls. The amount of anxiety produced dur-

ing and by the process of growing is obviously quite considerable. It assumes a great diversity of forms, depending on personality factors as well as on the environment and culture to which our girls are forced to adjust. The very marked differences between the records of schools corresponding roughly to the differences in the students' socio-economic backgrounds show beyond doubt that growing up has quite a different meaning to members of the various subgroups which combine to make up our American society. While this result may be said to be expected and indeed only natural, it is linked to important problems concerning the nature of American culture. Although this study is intended to be merely exploratory, designed to find out how American girls react in growing to maturity, it may offer some modest contributions towards questions and problems of a more general character. The more we can trust our method, that is to say the more convinced we are of the specific meaningfulness of any one of the Rorschach features, the clearer general inferences will we be able to draw from our findings.

If we wish to describe the adjustive process of growing up, we cannot expect to see sudden changes. Instead we try to observe what happens to a specific problem or to attempted solutions over a longer period of time. Therefore, it should be of interest to note how one type of reaction to the inkblots is modified or retained through the various stages of prepuberty, puberty, and adolescence. I shall endeavor to follow up some of the best recognized Rorschach features in their statistical occurrence and in their assumptive meanings through these three stages.¹

THE NUMBER OF RESPONSES

Individually administered Rorschach tests might have elicited a greater number of responses. Again we cannot assume that the reduction of responses by the group method, although affecting all subjects similarly, is evenly distributed. On the contrary, we can rather assume that the loss through this method was greatest in those individuals who react strongly to personal rapport. This, then, would only obscure the final results, since

¹ The approach and problem, and therefore the solutions, differ in various points from the studies of M. Hertz (5). In this study the development is less focused in terms of introversion and extraversion. However, if such an attempt should have been made, the onset of introversion would be far earlier in our groups. Hertz, of course, dealt with adolescents of both sexes. She states that "the 12-year-old child tends to engage less in inner living and fantasy life and responds more readily to the world about him . . . and by 15 years of age both boys and girls appear more introverted; the 15-year-old adolescent tends to withdraw within himself." In our material, "introversive" trends are almost all-pervasive; they start earlier and vary in quality and design rather than in intensity later. It appears that fantasy replaces and completes reality experiences in an overwhelming degree throughout the period of growth.

it is most often the spontaneous child who makes rapport quickly. However, we find that even the number of responses is far greater in those groups whose more permissive background encourages the establishment of intimate interpersonal relationships and also facilitates self-expression. While the average number of responses of all prepuberal records is 21, Urban Elementary School presents an average of 31. We may well assume that the conscious stimulation and encouragement of production on the part of proud and ambitious parents played a part in this increase. The stimulation and the high aspiration level of these little girls will be noted later, for they appear to interfere with, as well as promote, many of the Rorschach manifestations.

In a fascinating struggle, the same amount of ambition and stimulation—the background being similar—has evidently been subdued by other factors in the older Meadowlane group, where control factors obviously exerted a restrictive influence, preventing an output as full and naive as that produced by the Urban Elementary School group. Another result was a higher percentage of mere form responses, indicating inhibitive measures against the frank expression of impulses. The Meadowlane girls are the more sophisticated group and they pay for their greater sophistication by a restriction of spontaneity. The average number of responses in the Universal group and in the Susan B. Anthony school is about equal. In general, Susan B. Anthony often has a statistically balancing effect which may indicate that this school is more representative of the mottled population on which our research is being done. This applies also to the number of responses, where the wide scatter among the individual students indicates their heterogeneity, which is counterbalanced again in the statistical average.

If we assume that the number of responses is indicative of a readiness to respond to stimulation and to speak up, we find that the complexity of society with its stimulating and repressing forces has already brought about decided behavioral patterns in prepuberty. We find the releasing stimulating factors strongest in the privileged, "progressively" trained girls, while in the other groups regulative factors have led to compromise results in regard to the number of responses.

TIME FACTOR

The time factor cannot be studied in group testing, since equal time was given to all and the extent to which it was used is not evident from the record.

HUMAN MOVEMENT RESPONSES

The frequently offered interpretation of human movement responses in the Rorschach as indicators of maturity was not fully supported by the results of this study, at least not in numerical terms. Yet a trend towards in-

creased human movement can be seen in the adolescent group. The average occurrence of human movement, or M, is 6.05 in the records of the adolescents as against 4.98 in that of the prepuberals. The puberal middle group, however, shows a slight drop with an average M score of 4.35 per record. If we assume that these moderate differences, particularly between the two lower age groups where the results are inverse to expectation, are significant and should be interpreted, they would indicate a disturbance at the puberal stage of a trend towards maturation, a trend which, although very complex, seems to signify that an individual's fantasy life attempts adjustment to the outside world by means of spontaneous, assertive self-expression. It still remains doubtful which of the impetuses tending to create M responses is affected by puberty. Is the formation of inner fantasies decreased in favor of greater outside activity? Or is there a check to the readiness for expression of inner stirrings which may thus not be diminished but rather denied manifestation?

ANIMAL MOVEMENT RESPONSES

The number of animal movement responses would seem to point towards the latter interpretation. It appears that the FM responses show exactly the same drop at puberty as the human movement responses. The prepuberal record averages 4.36, the puberal 3.08, the adolescent 4.21 FM responses. Here the puberal group shows quite marked constriction, far greater than was evidenced in the reduction of M responses. This finding runs counter to expectation;² not in so far as it indicates the non-acceptance of impulsation in the puberal girl, who may be more directly faced with disturbing sexual reminders and thus develop more repression, but because FM responses have been frequently thought of as direct signs of immaturity and should therefore decrease with growing age. However, interestingly enough, the fact that in puberty FM is even less acceptable than M leads to the result that the ratio of human movement to animal movement, which has so often been considered the most clear-cut indication of maturation, actually shows an increase of human-movement preponderance in an upward line from prepuberty to adolescence. The real ascent seems to lie on the way between puberty and adolescence, but the trend is clearly defined all the time. The prevalence of FM over M, postulated for immaturity, has apparently been outgrown by the time of prepuberty. None of our subgroups show it. The overprotected, well-to-do children in the Urban Elementary School come close to equivalence, with a ratio of M:FM = 1:0.96. The underprivileged girls of the same age gave only .71 FM responses to

² It is also in disagreement with the results of the study at the University of California by Marguerite G. McFate and Frances G. Orr (10).

every M response. Again the problem of constituents arises, for the privileged girl gives more human responses than the underprivileged girl, but these are overbalanced by the greater proportion of animal movements. In terms of dynamic interpretation this would probably mean that this youngest group can afford more spontaneity; further, that within this age group the child of the rich can be freer than the child of the poor, whose environment obstructs the manifestation of spontaneous impulses.

This relation becomes further sharpened at the period of puberty which is evidently more dangerous and therefore demands greater self-restriction of the child in the economically and culturally limited family. The average record of the puberal Urban Elementary schoolgirl contains 5.67 FM responses, that of the Universal girl in the same age group 3.04. It seems that self-control, or identification with the cultural norms of the environment, requires more sacrifice from the underprivileged girl and that the "domestication" indicators are stronger in the girls of the lower income brackets. If we consider the type of content of the movement responses—whether they are tensor or flexor determined—in addition to their number alone, we can observe the growing hostility which results. The aggressive type of animal movement, including activities of fight, of killing, and generally of destruction, occurs with far greater frequency in the records of the underprivileged girls. Evidently this means that, while there is repression, there is also prevailing aggression; in all likelihood, these two factors are related. The average number of aggressive human movement responses in the Universal group is .77 out of a total average of 4.2 M, whereas in the Urban Elementary group only .48 out of the average of 5.26 M are aggressive actions. Inversely, the passive type of human movement, characterized by muscular flexor utilization, averages .45 in the Urban Elementary and only .39 in the Universal group.

FORM RESPONSES

It appears, therefore, that our culture calls for or permits more aggressive adjustment in the lower and more passivity in the higher socio-economic groups. It might also be inferred that maladjustment is more of the aggressive type in the one, more of a submissive nature in the other. However, the higher occurrence of good form in the Urban Elementary group indicates that, evidently due to their higher intelligence, its members are far better adjusted to the merely intellectual aspects of our cultural system whose educational optimum their school is supposed to represent.

The question which arises here is difficult and important: How much adjustive success is represented by the acceptance and integration of rational thinking *per se*? To what extent, in this sense, is intelligence in itself a direct indicator of adjustment? Or how much emotional adjustment must precede the utilization of intellect? The process of human thinking and,

still more, our specific systematizations and classifications are among the most characteristic, most powerful, most rigorous demands made on the child. The fact that some groups differ from others in readiness to think along logical lines should be considered in terms of acceptance of or rejection of their environment, of their cultural "reality." We will find this problem most prominent again in the adolescent college girls whose desire for originality—added to rebellion against parents, society, and the whole world—has in some cases led to such distortion, to such twisting of a commonsense outlook on "our" reality, that logic has been wantonly thrown overboard altogether. Their Rorschach records show some peculiarities

TABLE 7
DISTRIBUTION OF NUMBER OF POPULAR RESPONSES OCCURRING
IN EACH RORSCHACH PROTOCOL

Group	Mean _P	P = 0	P = 1-3	P = 4-6	P = 6+
Prepuberal	4.50	1%	18.0%	71.0%	10.0%
Puberal	4.18	0%	32.0%	58.0%	10.0%
Adolescent	4.72	0%	20.0%	71.0%	9.0%

which otherwise appear exclusively in the tests of psychotics. Such drastic neglect of "form" did not occur in our prepuberal group except in the records of a very few possibly pathological records. The sharpness of perception, however, varies quite noticeably from group to group and very definitely in an ascending trend according to age. This expected rise is not radically affected by the occurrence of those "peculiar" responses mentioned above, because these appear to be almost entirely restricted to the sophisticated, blase upper class. In general, however, the fact that only few F—responses occur and that those few are not clustered in the lower age groups seems to indicate that immaturity does not affect perceptual rationality. At the age of prepuberty, with which our study starts out, perceptual capacity is evidently well settled.

POPULAR AND ORIGINAL RESPONSES

The frequency of popular responses follows the same pattern: There is an increase in number from the puberal up to the adolescent group. Since the number of possible popular responses is absolutely limited, variability of occurrence is diminished, a fact which may lend undue importance to very small differences.

The average prepuberal record contains 4.5 P, the puberal 4.18, and adolescent 4.72. This shows that even the youngest group has reached a stage

of adjustment to "popular" concept-formation which about equals that of the general population. It would appear that later life experiences, in their rich diversity, do not alter this capacity; they seem neither to restrain the perception of the P response nor essentially to favor it. In prepuberty, the task challenging most of the mental efforts seems still to be the understanding and absorption of the world as the adults present it to the child. Originality is suppressed rather than encouraged—trends to the contrary notwithstanding—in order to safeguard the continuation of tradition and human culture. The relatively few original responses in the prepuberal group are naive and primitive and tend towards F— quality. They are either the results of very immature thinking, or they are artificial products of an environment that forces originality on children before the security of ordinary reasoning along logical lines has had time to establish itself. We find that among the relatively high percentage of original responses in the Urban Elementary group almost one-half lacks that amount of perceptive precision which would be able to afford a touch of personal twisting. They are O-responses. However, the fact that the number of original responses in this group could so greatly increase without leading to a decrease in popular responses shows that the children's adaptive intellectual ability was not harmed by their precocious attempts at personality expression. On the contrary, the Urban Elementary group shows an increase in both original and popular responses in comparison with the Universal group, denoting a broader range of individuality expression; 3.62 original responses in one record are the average, whereas the Universal girl gives only 1.54. The difference exceeds that between the total number of responses (R), demonstrating a qualitative reduction in addition to the quantitative restraint in output in the lower socio-economic group. The Susan B. Anthony girls again are a medium group, and so is Meadowlane.

The percentage of original responses of a group, however, does not seem too meaningful unless we also consider their distribution over the single records. The same is true for the popular responses. 21.5 per cent (or 9 out of 42) of the Urban Elementary records include more than 6 popular responses, while there is a zero occurrence in all other groups with the exception of Susan B. Anthony where it occurs in one record. In drawing conclusions from the occurrence of P responses to the actual adjustment, statistical medians seem more appropriate than averages. If each of the children had 3 P responses, they would all be maladjusted and share too few ideas with our adult population; if half of them had 6, this half would be adjusted to generally prevailing lines of thinking. Therefore, subgroups were formed according to the frequency of P's in the records. Only one prepuberal girl had no P's. The most "normal" occurrence of P responses, between 4 and 6, was found in 71 per cent of the prepuberal and in 71 per cent of the adolescent records; but it drops to 58 per cent in the puberal

group. This must be considered meaningful, indicating that the self-preoccupation of the puberal girl prevents her from participating in the general ideas around her. Moreover, we observe that, for instance on card VIII, the P concept when missing, is nearly always replaced by an At response. In these cases, physical concern overshadows the more usual attitude represented by the popular responses. Thus, popular and original responses cannot be considered indicators of adjustment or maladjustment on a numerical basis. Only the very specific quality of each single response in conjunction with its place in the sequence and with its formal characteristics can give us some clue here. For example, the forced originality of some Urban Elementary responses, which has its very evident sequel in the sophisticated F— responses of the blase adolescents, will in most cases probably not lead to maladjustment but to better-grounded real originality in later life. They indicate developmental aberrations which future experiences will help to correct, so that meaningful relations will then integrate these ideas which at present are still suspended somewhere, accessible to verbalization but not really at the command of the young girls' mental ability. The eventual significance of such ideas will, therefore, depend on this future absorption and can only be evaluated in terms of potential adjustment, inferable from other features of the record where they occur.

MANNER OF APPROACH

A difficulty of a different kind arises with regard to the interpretation of the criteria of the "manner of approach," as expressed in the Rorschach in the distribution of W (whole) responses, D (usual area) responses, and dr (unusual area) responses, including the S (space) responses.

The W response, showing a subject's tendency to include everything in the picture in his interpretation, is—as we all know—indicative of high aspirations only if it reflects his efforts for organization, but it can become the sign of a lack in discrimination or of indolence if a "cheap" (i.e. an undifferentiated) concept is presented. And yet, in either case it indicates adjustment. Any W response constitutes an attempt to consider the task as an entity and to solve it as such. Whatever the dynamics behind such direct assault on the problem, the tendency itself can be defined as attempted acceptance of the total task. The D-approach also shows adjustment. It requires the demarcation of the most essential features and their interpretation. On whatever level the subject succeeds or even fails, the attempt made was one towards adjustment to a problem in its entirety or its essentials.

This is different in the dr response, including the S response. These are in themselves protestations against the usual, against the hierarchy of essentials in our systems and our order. Their content may—and often does—affirm this attitude or it may negate it, depending on the virulence of the

conflict which led up to such negativistic tendencies; but this type of response denotes an isolationist, individualistic, critical attitude towards reality as it is visualized by the subject. In a strong, versatile and relatively secure person a few responses of this type would indicate a capacity for independent thinking, a willingness to stand on his own feet, a desire to enrich life by unusual viewpoints. In a child it is dangerous and often indicates severe maladjustment.

TABLE 8

LOCATION OF RESPONSES IN INDIVIDUAL RORSCHACH PROTOCOLS

Group	W Percentage			D+d Percentage			S+dr Percentage	
	0-20	21-33	33+	0-44	44-55	55+	0-10	10+
Prepuberal	24.0%	16.0%	60.0%	23.0%	27.0%	50.0%	66.0%	34.0%
Puberal	17.0%	3.5%	79.5%	37.0%	23.0%	40.0%	69.0%	31.0%
Adolescent	17.0%	30.0%	53.0%	18.0%	29.0%	53.0%	65.0%	35.0%

If we assume with Klopfer that more than 10 per cent of responses in either group—dr and S—show too great a disregard for the obvious to be called well adjusted, our girls give marked indications of such inadequate adjustment.

Over 34 per cent of the prepuberal records have more than 10 per cent of S + dr responses; the puberal group shows an S + dr percentage of over 10 per cent in 31 per cent of all cases and the adolescent group in 35 per cent. As for the prepuberal group, it is very striking that the school with the economically deprived girls shows relative scarcity of responses to unusual areas (dr > 10 per cent = 15 per cent), while the Urban Elementary records are filled with them (dr > 10 per cent = 38 per cent), as are also the records of Susan B. Anthony (dr > 10 per cent = 41 per cent). Two explanations may be offered for this fact. The most obvious is the higher intelligence of the Urban Elementary and Susan B. Anthony groups, which would enable these girls to have (and to express by means of dr or S choices) personal interests and individual viewpoints, while the Universal girls are inclined to stick to "cliche" ideas. Another possible explanation for so striking a difference is that the girl of lower social background, who has fewer future chances, might well lose incentive for individualistic aspirations very early and set herself only vague and general goals of a schematic type. If she asserts herself and her style of life, it is done in a hostile and sometimes even antisocial form. S responses, therefore, by far outnumber the dr responses. The Urban Elementary group, on the other hand, favors the dr responses by a large margin (Universal, S:dr =

5:3; Urban E., S:dr = 1:2). It would be of great interest to find out what compensations the Universal girl finds for the abandonment of personality goals. What makes life interesting and stimulating enough for her to keep going? Does she feel the full brunt of dissatisfaction derived from the loss of incentive for personality development in terms of the struggle for new viewpoints?

We find that the relation between dr and S becomes quite blurred later in adolescence when a late high school and college population is sampled. The two schools of high income background present great discrepancy among themselves. One, whose girls manifest over-sophistication close to ennui, shows a prevalence of 5:4 of dr over S; while the more active, scholastically oriented group of the same background has turned to the more negativistic critical attitude and gives more S responses than dr responses, in a ration of 8:7. But the form level of the negativistic or, at the very least, individualistic responses is very high, so that it appears as though these girls' best efforts were now turning towards criticism, and their need for independence has reached a point of conscious disapprobation of their environment with strong needs to emphasize their individual views. This ratio between dr and S responses seems to have even more indicative value as pointing toward ambitiousness, than the more commonly utilized indicator, the W percentage. The fact that the "easy," unorganized response to the entirety of the blot is included in the usual computation of W's, that the F— response is included as well as the vague response, obliterates the ambition-manifestation in the W response. Actually it requires not greater but less effort to call an entire card "clouds" or "islands" or "intestines" than to select only a segment for interpretation, as the more careful person, the one more ambitious for qualitative achievement, may choose to do; while the tendency to accept a task as an entity—reflected, as has been discussed above, by the W response—may, but need not, involve ambition.

It does not seem easy to give meaningful interpretation to the number of the occurring W responses. Their distribution is shown in Table 8. If the percentages were equated with ambitious drive, the puberal group would excel. This contradicts all the other findings of this study and of others which evidence the greater self-absorption and, therefore, the relative withdrawal of achievement energy from outside tasks of the girl at the acute height of puberal difficulties. The meaning of W as quite generally bespeaking ambition becomes still more doubtful when we see that the intellectually overstimulated, highly competitive Urban Elementary students offer not one single record with more than 33 per cent W's in the puberal group, while their prepuberal schoolmates gave 21.4 per cent records with over 33 per cent W responses. Of course, the relation is reversed in other schools, so that the full score relation, contrary to the one in Urban Elementary, is in favor of the puberals for high W percentages.

If W is interpreted as indicating ambition, these results do not make sense. But no better interpretation for the number of W responses in general can be offered at this point to explain these very unexpected results with regard to a Rorschach feature whose interpretation has met with relatively little opposition so far, one which had certainly been accepted by the writer even in analyzing the individual records of this study. Also the scoring of this item is so simple that it is hardly reasonable to look for a difference in scoring as a possible responsible factor; cut-off W's were given full weight in the computation, this being the usual practice on which the norms are based.

The most striking thing in this feature of the W-distribution is certainly the enormous drop, in the puberal group, of just that percentage of whole responses which occurs most frequently in "normal" protocols, i.e. of the bracket between 21 per cent and 33 per cent. It is present in only 3.5 per cent of the puberal records, while the overweighted W column of over 33 per cent prevails in almost 80 per cent. A possible explanation of this fact might be that the two opposite personality constellations which make for a plentitude of W responses are both extreme at that stage of human development: The ambitious girl, then, would be driven towards organizing whole responses in order to satisfy her needs for self-assurance and display, while the inert or unintelligent, the driveless girl, gives her W responses for their undifferentiated convenience in an "I don't care" attitude; uncritical because uninterested, she accepts the stimuli "as is."

In this study the usual details were not, as is usual, subdivided. The interest was focused on the question of common sense, with neglect of the subjects' predilection for smaller tasks or restrictions. This should not affect the inner distribution too markedly, though it has certainly increased the number of records with D+ weights. But this did not seem essential. In fact, the value of the d-scoring appears doubtful to this writer, since smaller details, as long as they are usually seen, have statistically gained the place of the equally attractive larger areas, evidently on the basis of their well-defined delineation and perceptual entirety rather than their size. Therefore, it was felt that for our purposes both might be considered as having equal value.

Thus an overemphasis on D percentage—which is not damaging to the record will be expected to occur slightly more often here than it would if the small details had been scored separately.

Actually most of the records now fall into the highest category. (See Table 8.) This fact definitely plays a role in deciding that ours was a normal group. The puberal girls, however, again evidence the greatest trend away from normalcy; 37 per cent of their records underemphasize the usual, the ordinary. This is far more than the youngest group, where underemphasis appears in only 23 per cent of the tests. It seems rather evident that this

difference from the norm discloses a disturbance around the puberal age; a disturbance which is already palpable in the prepuberal period, sharpest at puberty proper, and which resolves itself rather quickly afterwards. The 18 per cent of the adolescent records in which the usual problems are underevaluated does not seem extreme, particularly in view of the fact that the range reaches up to 44 per cent. This age group actually showed a strong tendency towards sweeping generalizations and organized W's.

Negativism and a trend toward the unusual are quite striking throughout all our records and seem to belong to the process of growth in our culture. An S + dr percentage of over 10 per cent is found in about one-third of the protocols of all age groups. This trend does not culminate at puberty but in adolescence. In fact the puberal girls fall back somewhat, one more sign that their general constrictive trends limit their personality-expression (S percentage of more than 10: prepuberal, 34 per cent; puberal, 31 per cent; adolescent, 35 per cent). In the middle group, negativism and hostility appear to cause less deflection from the everyday problems. This certainly does not mean that they are not present or have been attenuated during that period; they find other outlets.

THE COLOR RESPONSES AND THE M RESPONSE

As has been mentioned before, the response to color appears low in all prepuberal school groups. One might assume that the girls in elementary school, relatively close to early childhood, would have retained some of the strong color reactions frequently reported as pertinent to childhood and often referred to as "childish" when occurring in the records of adults. This was not the case. There was relatively little color in any of the young girls' protocols. The sum of color responses, computed according to the Rorschach formula for comparative evaluation to human movement and shown in Table 9, may be used first for group comparison.

It seems probable that the restriction which school and a scholastic training imposes on children in our culture is considerable. Growing up into a

TABLE 9
AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF COLOR OCCURRING IN EACH
RORSCHACH RECORD

<i>Group</i>	FC	CF	C	Sum* C
Prepuberal	1.34	0.92	0.30	2.04
Puberal	0.92	0.90	0.22	1.69
Adolescent	2.38	1.14	0.44	2.99

* (FC + 2CF + 3C)/2

culture as complex as ours is a difficult task and the child evidently reacts by a contractive movement to the conscious encounter with knowledge, with authority outside the home, with social partners. How much of this evident constriction with regard to impulsive reaction is already due to the approaching puberal changes would be ascertainable only by comparison with the preceding age group, but the prepuberals are the youngest. They are very alert to the perception of form. It seems that they are so eager to solve their tasks well that they cannot permit themselves too much freedom. It is likely that their training in the taking of tests introduced some inhibition into the situation, though it had been carefully planned so as to be informal. Probably it was not the test situation as such that had the restrictive effect but the fact that school children are trained to eliminate all their emotional impulses as best they can, even while working in an informal setting, in order to avoid emotional interference with the "real task" which is one of logical judgment and memory. The more they concentrated on perceptual accuracy the better, so they felt, they had solved the task.

To a certain extent this may help to explain the general unresponsiveness to color. There is relatively little difference among the socio-economic groups as to the degree of this restraint, and it will be discussed later. The movement of freedom and constriction according to age groups, however, seems illustrative. Constriction has its peak at puberty. This fact is corroborated again and again. The puberal girls have fewer FM's, since they are least ready for drive-acceptance; they have the lowest share of original responses (prepuberal, 2.74 per cent; puberal, 2.32 per cent; adolescent, 3.90 per cent). It seems that the naive freedom of infancy becomes generally narrowed during childhood by gradual subordination to the regulations of society, and as this process continues, its personality-limiting effect becomes more and more pronounced. At the same time, the biological stirrings grow. The only way to deal with them is by trial solutions in the form of intensive thinking and fantasy. But as we have seen, the surplus of fantasy pictures is not reflected in an increased number of creative, free M responses. It seems rather that even this expression of inner acceptance, which presumes some degree of self-assertion, denies itself to the puberal girl.³

However, the m column rises under such inner pressure (m per record: prepuberal, 1.31; puberal, 2.28; adolescent, 2.98). The fact that m's are not only undiminished but still further increased in the records of the adolescents will require further exploration. But the sudden influx of small m responses around puberty is striking. It would be even more striking if it were not for one confusing factor in scoring: The m's which the prepuberal girl mostly gives, and which are even the only such responses in many

³ The findings are in contrast markedly with those found in the studies of Hertzman and Margulies (7) and with the California study of McFate and Orr (10).

records, are "grinning masks" or "a leering face of a fox on a wall." The puberal record shows a shift to the predominance of a different type of m's: There are "fast rotating weathervanes," "floating clouds and smoke," and "flames flaring." It is this type of m's which later seems to turn into the adolescent girl's sophisticated abstraction or her compulsive clinging to the midline, for it reflects the play of forces which are projected from within onto the dangerous, unstable outside world. The threatening faces seen by the prepuberal child illustrate the same dynamic projection of fear onto the environment. The threatening grimacing face, most frequently given in response to card I, reflects uneasiness which is caused by the environment and which stresses inner insecurity in orientation. It is the naive expression of suspicion and, in this sense, an early shock-absorbing forerunner of the more paranoid "human faces, staring" of the more adult record. It is not so much a response to inner biological stirrings as is the inanimate movement response. While the occurrence of m increases in the puberal record, the incidence of "expressive faces" decreases (prepuberal, 0.78 per cent; puberal, 0.63 per cent; adolescent, 0.68 per cent). It seems that there is a steady flow of anxiety, with a shift at puberty from the fear of the environment to the fear of rising inner drives; in adolescence they both meet. An attempt was made to investigate this by tabulating the m's specifically for each card. It was found that the prepuberal girls have a very definite overweight of m to card I, the puberal group shows a marked shift to cards VI and IX, and the adolescents' records accentuate this shift but also contain more m responses to card I than those of the puberal subjects. Possibly, as they become again more interested in the world around them, the girls also experience more of the outside dangers again.

However, there are noteworthy differences of trends between the subgroups. This is true more for the relative than for the absolute incidence of m responses, i.e. rather for their accumulation on one record—where they would indicate intense fearful reaction—as compared to their frequency scattered over many records. In the prepuberal group 20 per cent of all m's come up in records with 3 or more m's, indicating a definite pattern of strong anxiety; in the puberal group 26 per cent occur clustered; in the adolescent group, 37 per cent. If we compare these results with the frequency of zero occurrence, we will obtain a better picture of the depth of tension-anxiety, which appears to be so closely related to the inner acceptance of sexual impulses. In the prepuberal group 12.12 per cent of the records have no m reaction at all, as against 20 per cent in the puberal and 13 per cent in the adolescent group. This means that the puberal group, which has the densest m-records, also has the greatest number of m-free records; or in other words, that this particular type of tense anxiety about inner drives need not always be present at all but is tantamount to panic when it does occur. It appears more dangerous and threatening at the time

of puberty as compared with the prepuberal age. In the adolescent group this kind of anxiety occurs more frequently but is no longer so intense. Fewer adolescent girls escape this problem, which must therefore in many cases have started only after puberty, but fewer also are gripped by the strongest tensional pressure as expressed in highest m columns.

Now we can assume that the aforementioned slight drop in M responses at puberty, which runs counter to the developmental expectation of gradual increase in maturity, is one of the results of non-acceptance of role in the puberal girl. While the average prepuberal girl strives for identification and is either eager to grow into her mother's role (content analysis frequently reveals this more explicitly) or remains childishly preoccupied with fantasy staging, the puberal girl is more often pressed into conflict. Her understanding of and rapport with other people have not markedly increased as yet; a rise of interest in people can be expected in adolescence (average H percentage: prepuberal, 4.30; puberal, 4.35; adolescent, 5.73.) The puberal girl is still greatly self-preoccupied and has become much more excited in her inner tension. It is not surprising that this is the time in which dementia praecox can take roots in the girls most exposed to severe conditional pressure. The lack of outside vents, as reflected in the small amount of color responses, makes the social outlet and discharge of tension in socially accepted forms difficult. Here, the FC distribution is significant. The puberal girls have considerably fewer of those "adjustment" and "rapport" indicators than even the younger prepuberal subjects. They may appear less dependent and obedient, less submissive than the latter; but they are evidently also lonelier, less well related to the adults, more negativistic (FC percentage: prepuberal, 1.34; puberal, 0.92; adolescent, 2.38). The "immaturity" shown in this lack of adaptive capacity is not, however, accompanied by the aggressive corollary of such alleged immaturity, the freer C reactions. On the contrary, the restriction appears even somewhat greater in this group than in the prepuberals if we consider the amount of free, active expression of impulsations (C percentage: prepuberal, 0.30; puberal, 0.22; adolescent, 0.44). The adolescent girl is more daring because she is far more self-assertive. It seems that inferiority feelings reach their maximum at puberty. We shall see this later when discussing the anatomy response, so characteristic for this age which is biologically so much involved. The hypochondriacal content in the records of so many early schizophrenics is probably related to this fact. Body inferiorities become painful centers of concern and of anxieties resulting from exaggerated resentment of one's own incapacity and inadequacy.

The paucity of direct color responses (CF, C) in our children may be an accusation against our own form of society. Evidently our social rules, democratic freedom notwithstanding, are very constrictive, enormously anxiety-producing and repressive. Our average prepuberal girl does not even dare to

give one full CF response, which is a response primarily to the color value of an inkblot (such as "a design" or "a colored anatomical chart"). The latter example is her most frequent CF response. Very little would be left of the CF's altogether if this one, a free anxiety reaction, were eliminated. This anatomical response is one of fear and concern, a sign of confused suffering rather than an overspilling of that youthful gaiety which we would expect our young girls to manifest. But there is little of that anywhere. Our girls are strained and not too happy. It may be considered a good sign that pure C responses, i.e., uncontrolled overreactions to color, are so infrequent. But the CF responses, within controllable limits, would be a sign of naturalness and of vital responsiveness, of enough motility to offer ready acceptance to emotional stimulation. We would certainly expect more of them than we find (CF percentage: prepuberal, 0.92; puberal, 0.90; adolescent, 1.40). Were we to agree with the generally accepted idea that CF shows less maturity than FC, we would be forced to see regressive trends in our growing girls. However, we would not like to go as far as that. Rather, it seems to us that the repressive effect of our cultural norms is so choking that only gradually, at the time of adolescence, can our girls mobilize enough self-assertion to break through it, and even then—vehement conscious efforts toward this goal notwithstanding—not too rudely, but with moderation. The all-group average of CF (controlled in their content) responses does not appear particularly high. The rebellion of our growing girls in general is obviously not specifically vented through motoric action. We do find it strongly in evidence: as criticism, as hostility (S content), and mostly as dammed-up tension (m). As we shall see when considering the responses to shading, it is always closely interwoven with anxiety features, so closely that one hardly ever comes to the surface without a trace of the other. This may be an inevitable consequence of the domestication and civilization of mankind, but it also might point to an error in our specific culture. Perhaps the price we pay for "adjustment" is too high? But even if it is not, it still is most poignantly felt by the growing-up generation. A study of young boys might reveal whether their share of the burden of being trained to accept our cultural values is similar or, if different, whether it is similarly heavy.

TABLE 10

SHADING RESPONSES AS SHOWN IN THE RORSCHACH PROTOCOLS

<i>Group</i>	FC+c+FK+C'+K	R	<i>Group Average</i>
Prepuberal	374	2482	15.07%
Puberal	282	2132	13.23%
Adolescent	640	2818	22.71%

THE SHADING RESPONSES; SHADING AND COLOR SHOCK

Shading is supposed to reflect anxiety in many variations. In every one of our groups the shading responses considerably exceed the number of color responses. When it occurs in one individual protocol, the dominance of shading over color is deemed to indicate the subject's susceptibility to painful experiences, a preparedness not only to experience but almost to seek out future hurt, which is founded on accumulated previous experiences of suffering.

Would it be correct to apply this interpretation to the entire group? Since this prevalence of shading over color is so prominent, it is evident that either there must be a great number of individual records which show it or a relatively small number excessively weighted on the side of achromatic response, resulting in a total numerical overweight of shading over color. Before we enter into the question of shading and its interpretation it must be mentioned that, because of the limitations of the group method used in these tests, it was necessary, first, to establish scoring principles which would serve to identify the subjects' presumable intentions and thus warrant their uniform interpretation. Responses to strongly shaded areas, which are mostly seen with use of light and dark differentiation by the general population, were scored as shading responses if (a) the content of the concept was of a kind that called for the use of shading and is generally described in this way (e.g., card IV or VI as fur rug) and (b) the specific Rorschach protocol already contained at least one other clearly designated shading response. On this basis we obtained the following average of all shading responses taken together ($Fc + c + FK + C' + K$): prepuberal, 15 per cent; puberal, 13 per cent; adolescent, 22 per cent. If we compare these figures with those of the color responses, the retreat from the bright color values to the dark shading values is so striking, intense, and widespread that we might feel inclined to think of puberty proper as of a traumatic experience which creates this "burnt child" (Klopfer) complex.

The fact that "shading shock" also outweighs "color shock" points in the same direction; the occurrences are as follows:

Percentage of CS: prepuberal, 0.34; puberal, 0.23; adolescent, 0.45

Percentage of SS: prepuberal, 0.64; puberal, 0.59; adolescent, 0.73

However, the distribution of shading shock among the age groups contradicts this idea. The lowest incidence of both color shock and shading shock is, very surprisingly, in the puberal group, although here, too, it is still rather high. If we were to adhere to Rorschach's interpretation of CS as indicating neurosis, our experiment would, by this token, suggest that the girls' neurotic trends are least pronounced at the time of puberty proper. But this runs counter to all the other findings, and the contradiction is

further sharpened when we see that shading shock, which indicates the same type of disturbance on a deeper level, is also less frequent during puberty. This looks like an error and can hardly be explained dynamically.

The main reason for these apparently erroneous results might be found in the fact that one of the most outstanding indicators for "shock," the delay in responding, cannot be discovered in the group form of the test. Probably this omission counts so heavily that the remaining indications of shock are insufficient to measure its presence, so that some cases slip through unrecognized. But why should this involve the puberal group more than either of the others? This might be explained on the basis of their already evidenced greater constriction. The rejection of colored cards, for instance, was considered a sign of color shock only if no non-colored card had been rejected by the same subject. More rejections occurred in the puberal group than in any other group; however, unless they were confined to colored cards alone, they were not interpreted as constituents of color shock. This may have been a mistake in reasoning. It was mainly based on the speculation that if the most frequently rejected card, IX, showed total failure, we had no right to ascribe this fact exclusively—or even primarily—to its color effect. Failure on card IX could quite as well be due to its vagueness of shape and its lack of easily identifiable gestalt figures, which call for greater ability and effort in the subject than does any other blot in the set. Color may or may not add to the difficulty; we have no means of observing the mutual interplay of the subdynamics which, united, bring forth the refusal to respond. Because of its accumulated difficulties, card IX was not used at all for the establishment of color-shock in this study. This elimination was recognized as restrictive; it may, then, have turned out to be distortive as well, but it was difficult to estimate whether inclusion or exclusion would introduce greater possibilities of error. Similarly, an error may have resulted from the use of disturbed sequence as a shock-indicator. Sequence presupposes a relatively high number of responses; consequently it could be better observed in the richer records, particularly in those of the adolescent girls who were, therefore, finally penalized for their freer output by a criticism on sequence. Of course, such criticism could not be applied to those of the puberal subjects whose restrictive caution in productivity proved thereby, as caution is intended to prove, an effective means to avoid criticism. To some lesser degree, the same applies to other criteria of color shock, for example to the wavering of form quality; but here, again, it is justified that some premium be given to the subject who uses restraint rather than risking failure and who thereby evidences better control. On the other hand, the premium effect must be too large; this becomes clear from the results noted above, which exempted the puberal girls from several indications of neurosis, for their ability to withhold evidence does not, after all, necessarily reflect an equal ability to restrict symptoms. We can check up on the source of

error to some extent by comparing the relation between total number of responses and color shock occurrence in the various subgroups. We find a very marked positive correlation, and this seems to support the explanation which has just been offered. It follows particularly that the much less frequent appearance of CS and SS in girls of the lower income brackets and lower social standing, which seemed so interesting, may be—and to some extent, at least, definitely is—due to their general restraint in output. The value of the protocols is, therefore, reduced with regard to some features, which are, however, recognizable.

As expected, the various shading responses show a preponderance of surface shading over depth shading, but it does not seem marked enough. The fact that FK+K responses come very close in number to the amount of Fc+c+C' responses may be considered yet another indicator of the introversive trend in our growing girls. The adolescent records present more responses of the FK type, which is already clearly traceable in the pre-puberals but which during puberty breaks down into the pure K response. Obviously, confusion prevails during puberty. The inadequacy feelings, the painful awareness of being too weak for the role handed down to them, become open "free floating anxieties" at puberty. Later on, in adolescence, new and better attempts are made to overcome such anxiety by introspective speculation and by gaining a perspective view of the past and future. In the more intelligent girls, FK responses then not only become frequent but are often their "best" responses with regard to ingenuity and organization. The introverted energies still seem to be gathering during adolescence, but we note some shift toward extraversion, or rather just some moving away from the entirely self-centered narcissism seen in the complete domination of the M response. This statement presupposes that all responses to shading itself imply more world-directedness than the M response. Actually, the response to shading as such seems to contain an element of self-comparison which implies an attempt to relate, albeit one which is based on insecurity and anxiety, apprehensive relatedness rather than active escape. Klopfer's Rorschach-graph recognizes this fact by placing the K columns more to the right side than the movement columns, although all K-combinations are still on the introversive side.

The awareness of danger mobilizes anxiety, but it also mobilizes adaptive measures. Both of these aspects manifest themselves in Fc responses, in actual synthesis and not separated as they would only be by speculative analysis. Even more than the FK response and most of all the XX responses, the Fc response unites in itself the two elements of reaction-formation and of its cause, which is the capacity for hurt.

If the Fc column is missing, the subject appears insensitive, schizoid, insufficiently alert to social implications. Too many Fc's, on the other hand, bespeak oversensitivity and anxious watchfulness of the environment with

reference to the self. While this type of surface shading response contains an outgoing component relating to the tactile surface quality of the blots, it indicates at the same time that the need to scrutinize and to search the environment stems from deepest fears. Social relatedness abates anxieties. Apparently the most effective means of subduing fear is the attachment of the fear factor (*c*) to reality, to form (*F*). The result of this dynamic is the *Fc* response, which seems to relieve some of the inner strain. Still, as Piotrowski has pointed out and as is corroborated here, all combinations of *c* contain more anxiety and less aggressive impulsation than do for instance the *C'* responses. While the *C'* responses reach their numerical peak at puberty, the *c* responses increase up to adolescence. They participate very essentially in maturation and in the improvement in acuity of perception. In some of the adolescents' records, the *Fc* responses show refinements and artistic subtleties which equal and sometimes surpass the level of the *M* responses, suggesting that inner dreams no longer absorb the best energies as they regularly did during the preceding periods. The improvement in maturity, as expressed in the elaborations and contents of concepts, is more striking in the *Fc* responses than in the *M* responses where they seem more a function of intelligence. While highly elaborated *M* responses are not at all infrequent with the intelligent prepuberal girl, very superior *Fc* responses are rare at her age.

SOME SPECIAL RESPONSES MANIFESTING BODY-CONCERN

Especially interesting *M* responses, which can be followed through all of the three periods, are "dancing" movements. In the beginning it appeared as though the prepuberal group, which was studied first, showed an unusual amount of "dancing." This response was then followed through separately; it was felt that this concept might be a fantasy compensation of exhibitionistic dreams, a corollary to acute inadequacy feelings, which are very acute in the very youngest but by no means restricted to them. In fact it was found that the "dancing" movements of both human and animal figures increased with the age of the subjects. The puberal group, whose total output is diminished, shows a logically corresponding decrease of dancing figures; the average prepuberal record contains 0.86 dancers, and puberal 0.77, the adolescent 1.80. However, the percentage of dancing figures among the *M* responses which was investigated in order to obtain a result independent of the absolute number of *M*'s, mounts with age. Out of the total number of *M*'s given in the prepuberal group, 17 per cent are "dancing"; in the puberal group, 18 per cent; in the adolescent group, 19 per cent. It would be interesting to find out whether, in our culture, close to one-fifth of all adult imaginary activity also goes into dance. The idea that dancing, a movement of gaiety, is frequently a compensatory attempt at op-

timism in a depressively toned personality, was first offered to me by Dr. Solomon Machover. The application of this idea to our records appeared to correlate excellently with the rest of the features. The social implications of dancing—related to contacts, to the stage and to success, to beauty and to gaiety—may give this movement wishfulfilling importance beyond others.

The adolescent girl's record averages almost two responses of dancing figures; they are mostly seen in flexor position, of which they seem to be an optimistic interpretation. They are frequently attached to feelings of uncanny weirdness, as when witches, magicians, cannibals are seen; or they are removed to the stage and circus, where both glamor and unrealistic remoteness from our world combine to create a twofold attraction. It must be noted that not a single record was found to read: "happy young girls dancing." Two prepuberals came closest to this concept when they saw "bunny masquerades." Nearly all the other concepts either contain some admixture of unpleasantness or show forcedness in accepting the idea of dancing.

While exaggerated, exhibitionistic self-display appears to be the dream-compensation for the extreme self-consciousness and body-fear of these age groups, the At (anatomy) responses are its frank corollary, indicative of physical anxiety and closely connected with sexual fears. They were expected to be quite frequent in growing girls, since they can be thought of as the most direct expression of sexual inferiority feelings. Their frequency, as might be expected, increases with age (At percentage: prepuberal, 4.5; puberal, 5.4; adolescent, 8.4). If we compare these averages with Rapaport's statement (10, p. 298) that the "well adjusted patrolmen average only 10 per cent At responses," we find that our growing girls, in spite of their enormous body-concern, do not manifest an unusual preoccupation with At. However, many of their At responses show great disturbance in their verbalization or unfitness of forms. Visceral anatomy is used mainly, with some "pelvis" admixtures. The most frequent occurrences are on cards VIII and IX: the results of color shock, indicating body-consciousness as a supreme handicap to the achievement of social poise. Moreover, some of the responses have a morbid character, which is particularly striking because they are mostly found in records of the sophisticated adolescent girls. Concepts of "pus" or "tuberculosis" reveal great specificity of fears. We frequently find germophobic anxieties attached to sexually connoted interpretations; however, even in the adolescent group, 49 per cent of the records are free from such indications.

Inhibitions arising out of fears constitute, therefore, quite as often a general social blocking as well as a blocking of specific, sexual nature. Thus we may state that the most definite disturbances in growing up are in the wider area of social adjustment, as has already been seen reflected in the

very marked restriction of the color responses. According to general ideas in the literature, we should expect every record to contain between two and three FC responses, one CF response, and zero C response; the sum C should be slightly over 2. This expectation is realized only by the adolescent group. The puberal group shows more restriction, as to the output of FC and CF, than even that group of adult patrolmen which Rapaport classifies as "generally restricted." This is certainly against the expectations of those who feel inclined to think of childhood and adolescence as periods of relatively little control, and of maturity in terms of increasing control. Puberty, then, would rather seem to be the period of greatest social restriction, a constriction which becomes somewhat relieved later on in adolescence. The color responsiveness in adolescence clearly surpasses that of the "constricted" patrolmen.

The protocols of the prepuberal and puberal groups, however, show depressive features. These can be seen in many signs of constriction, in the content, in the prevalence of shading responses, the lack of color, prevalence of flexor M's, and in almost all other conceivable indicators. In adolescence the picture changes, but this need not necessarily imply normalization. The increased use of color might possibly indicate that trends towards more hysterical impulsiveness have now come to the fore, offsetting the depressive trends of the earlier periods, but this is contradicted by the ratio of FC, CF and C response among themselves. It is the FC column which grows most rapidly, indicating a trend towards growth and emotional stabilization in the age groups from puberty to adolescence. None the less, many of the individual records show rather gross emphasis on one or the other side, reflecting either depressive or hysterical constellations, so that the broad middle group is evidently flanked by marginal currents of great lability. This can best be seen in the results of the school subgroups. For example, while the puberal group in general manifests utmost constriction, the Susan B. Anthony students present an increase in pure C responses. Although constricted, the puberal records appear in some places packed with emotion close to outbursts. The tension produced thereby becomes usually scorable as m rather than in color, because the color is suppressed. Responses such as "looks as though the mountain could be volcanic and explode" to card IX may illustrate this type of response. It occurred in four puberal records, almost identically, and, if analyzed, it is found to contain a factor of condensation close to contamination. The shape of the whole of card IX as a mountain is poor; it can hardly be anything but the color that stirs up associations of volcanic outbreaks. Actually, such outbreaks of colored material, fire and vapors, are not infrequently seen in this card; they are more often ascribed to atom-bomb destruction than to an interterranean process. Our puberals, however, repress such explosive color responses and, too anxious

to give them overt expression, even deny the stimulative effects of color: "The mountain looks like it could be shaped like a volcano," one of them phrased it.

The m values in these records appear to have absorbed much of the emotionality which usually goes into color responses. Combining the introverted movement tendencies with repressed outward-tending tension, m is a most characteristic feature in the growing girl.

In summing up, we can therefore state that the process of growth brings on great strains and pressures for girls in our culture and that, while adjustment is attempted by a large variety of means, some trends can well be established as outstanding in frequency and intense in dynamic effect. They are: (a) constriction and (b) introversion. As the most outstanding feature of all, underlying both these trends, we find (c) the inner tension, a resultant of conflict between inadequacy feelings and ambition, which are both extremely strong during this period. The course and the speed of growth depend upon two factors: (a) the basic intelligence; and (b) the socio-economic background which formulates the ideals and ambitions, as to quantity and quality, for these young girls.

It was striking to see that at the period here considered, the girls have reached full capacity for rational thought and have accepted the conventional concepts of our daily life (percentage of F+ and number of P in the Rorschach average the same as those of the rest of the population). Social adjustment, however, cannot be achieved so rapidly; it requires a refined interplay of reactions, some of which can only be learned through more experiences than the young girls have had time to gather. Attempts at adjustment are manifold and they show the full variety of efforts which we find displayed in adults. None of the Rorschach features is altogether missing. Some, however, are characteristically emphasized; fantasy activity and day dreams are prominent. The reduction of active interference with the given social reality—negativism and criticism notwithstanding—is quite marked (M favored, color combinations neglected). Girls at this period tend towards depression, feelings of insufficiency, self-blame, and guilt feelings (shading responses considerably prevailing over color. The desire for acceptance of the cultural norms of their environment is usually very strong. They need the protection which they hope to secure by submission under the parental norms (percentage of F+, constriction of idiosyncratic or individual spontaneous output). This attitude decreases with age, while self-absorption does not equally decrease. Gradually, however, it is more and more accompanied by active interests in a growing range of outside factors (number of M's does not decrease, while color combinations become more frequent). As for fantasies, they change in content only gradually, becoming more reality-directed; however, the number of M's in a Rorschach can, *per se*, neither be considered a sign of maturity nor used as an indicator

of immature self-absorption. Only their quality can give us the clue to a person's innermost attitudes toward the self. The immature M response is frequently a cliché representation of human action; the more mature person elaborates and concretizes her experiences with human figures and her interest in them. This, and not an increased number of M's, characterizes the higher age groups and the more mature girls.

Specific problems of sex could be observed throughout as central foci of disturbance in many individual cases, independent of proximity to the onset of menstruation. But like any other problem, that of sex is approached differently by the various age groups. There are only a few records—of very young girls in the Urban Elementary School—in which no specific sex concern can be traced. Even in these cases, of course, this does not prove its absence in the girls' emotional life, but it would probably exclude the intensity of active struggle with this problem which is so frequently seen in other girls, particularly in the puberal and adolescent stages, but almost as often in the youngest group of the Universal school, with evident indications of early sexual shock experiences. The most frequent Rorschach indications of sexual fears and sexual preoccupation are qualitative rather than quantitative, and therefore not easily measurable. As we have seen, the number of At responses was not exorbitant in any of the groups; their content and location, however, frequently pointed to morbid or peculiar sexual notions. "Pelvis" responses, although far too common to be considered in any way unusual, are slight indications of certain physical fears which are often found more drastically expressed in such responses as "a pot of dirt with germs or worms" to card VI and other deprecatory concepts of unpleasant and dangerous creatures of a destructive character. The fact that responses of this type, implying pollution, sickness, or decay, often refer to blot-areas which provoke sex responses in many adults, seems to indicate that these two categories are related in subconscious ideation and that the adult sex response to certain blot-areas is replaced here by the type of response described, which thus would express a fearful deprecation of sexuality. In formal Rorschach terms, the anxiety connected with sexual problems can best be seen from the combined accumulation of c responses and m responses, occurring mostly on VI but also on VII and other cards. Electricity, flames, or even radar, seen as "emanating"; oil wells springing up; doors swinging open; walls crumbling; flesh decaying. These are some of the variations of the responses which reflect sexual attitudes ranging from anxious expectancy ("locked doors that might swing open in the middle") to morbid guilt ("flesh of a cat that was run over in the street, decaying"); they occur not only frequently, but often with great vehemence as a dramatic climax of the record. From a number of protocols, traumatic recent sex experiences may be assumed with great probability. They are not restricted to any particular group; there were three drastic occurrences of

such trauma even among the well-protected Urban Elementary girls, and still less sociological difference can be observed in later periods, when environmental control relaxes.

ACCEPTANCE OF FEMININE ROLE

While many of the youngest girls appear merely reluctant to grow up, whether or not this attitude may stem from fear of their role as women, the older groups show a wide variety of "masculine protest" attitudes and of attempts to sublimate the feminine role by elevation into artistic sophistication. In these cases we find a conjunction of derogatory and over-enthusiastic interpretations of female concepts, so that female humans are for instance seen as "beautiful girls, dancing; they seem to be witches in a masquerade." This response, taken from a puberal girl's record and quite characteristic for this age group, shows not only the conflict concerning the acceptance of her femininity but also her doubt about which attitude to take in self-evaluation.

In general, it can be said that many of the traits which characterize the growing girl—many of the defensive mechanisms, healthy or neurotic—have their numerical peak at puberty. Our middle group definitely showed a concentration of many of the typical features. However, most of the features appeared to be distributed according to cultural and economic status as well as in relation to biological maturity.

Having collected our material from schools which we may, on the whole, consider to be fairly representative of various social groups, we were able to a certain (albeit a very limited) extent to follow up the interplay of the cultural, socio-economic, and biological determinants.

Thus we could see that each group has specific dangers to cope with, in addition to the more general problems which face them all. None of the subgroups seemed as secure and well-guided as we would feel desirable, and all show considerable confusion and anxiety. In particular, the "feminine role," materially so different for members of these different social groups, is not accepted willingly by any of them. It is frequently glorified in an unrealistic, exhibitionistic glamorization, but we found remarkably little indication of deep inner satisfaction in being a girl with the prospect of growing into womanhood.

REFERENCES

1. BAKER, E. Personality changes in adolescence as revealed by the Rorschach method. *Psychol. Bull.*, 1941, 38, 705. (Abstract)
2. HERTZ, M. R. Some personality changes in adolescence as revealed by the Rorschach method. *Psychol. Bull.*, 1940, 37, 515-516. (Abstract)

3. HERTZ, M. R. Evaluation of the Rorschach method and its application to normal childhood and adolescence. *Character & Pers.*, 1941, 10, 151-162.
4. HERTZ, M. R. Personality changes in 35 girls in various stages of pubescent development based on the Rorschach method: The "control" patterns. Paper read before the Midwestern Psychol. Assn., Ohio Univ., Athens, Ohio, April, 1941.
5. HERTZ, M. R. Personality patterns in adolescence as portrayed by the Rorschach inkblot method: I. The movement factors. *J. genet. Psychol.*, 1942, 27, 119-188. With E. Baker. II. The color factors. *Ibid.*, 1943, 28, 3-61. III. The "Erlebnistypus." *Ibid.*, 225-276. IV. The Erlebnistypus, a typological study. *Ibid.*, 1944, 29, 3-45.
6. HERTZ, M. R., and BAKER, E. Personality patterns in adolescence as portrayed by the Rorschach inkblot method: II. The color patterns. *Rorschach Res. Exch.*, 1941, 5, 30. (Abstract)
7. HERTZMAN, M., and MARGULIES, H. Developmental changes in Rorschach test responses. *J. genet. Psychol.*, 1943, 28, 189-216.
8. JACOBSON, W. A study of personality development in a high school girl. *Rorschach Res. Exch.*, 1937, 2, 23-35.
9. KLOPPER, B., and KELLEY, D. M. *The Rorschach Technique*. Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Co., 1942.
10. MCFATE, MARGUERITE G., and ORR, FRANCES G. Through adolescence with the Rorschach. *Rorschach Res. Exch. and J. Proj. Tech.*, 1949, 13, 302-319.
11. PIOTROWSKI. Tentative Rorschach formulæ for educational and vocational guidance in adolescence. *Rorschach Res. Exch.*, 1943, 7, 16-27.
12. RAPAPORT, D. *Diagnostic Psychological Testing*. Chicago: Yearbook Publishers, Inc., 1946.
13. SCHAPIRO-POLLACK, N. *Contribution à l'étude psychologique de la puberté à l'aide du test de Rorschach*. Paris: Soc. Nouv. d'Imprimerie, 1935.

THE THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

By ROSS HARRISON

The Thematic Apperception Test for personality evaluation, which was first introduced in 1935 by Morgan and Murray (16), is now so familiar to the psychological public that no elaborate description is required. Essentially, the method consists of having a subject relate stories to a series of more or less ambiguous pictures in the course of which he unconsciously projects his own personal material, which can then be extracted analytically. The TAT, as it is more familiarly known, is thus an indirect or oblique technique for probing the inner life of an individual. For bibliography and surveys of the literature the reader is referred to Bell (2), Rapaport (20), and Tomkins (29).

Some of the other approaches to personality in this cooperative study of adolescence tend to stress a structural or trait description of the individual, although content material is also given. The unique contribution of a picture-story technique is that it supplements other projective methods by yielding not so much a formal account of the personality as a dynamic or content description. Content implies preoccupations and conflicts, identifications and fantasy roles, attitudes and values, reaction to familial figures, direction and nature of ambitions, and the degree of wishful and realistic thinking. The young girl in story-telling also unwittingly gives something of her concept of the feminine role in our society, her acceptance or rejection of femininity, attitudes toward maternity, her image of heterosexual relationships, and in general her level of psychosexual maturity. In addition, such structural features as mental health status, intellectual and creative abilities, and other personal traits are usually reflected to some extent in the stories. The difference in what the various methods give is a matter of emphasis or degree; the TAT yields more content and less structure, the other approaches more structure and less content.

The literature already contains two comprehensive investigations of the adolescent years by the thematic method. In the Shady Hill Study of a small group of children and adolescents, Sanford (24) utilized the TAT and compared findings with those of collaborators employing questionnaires, interviews, school history, home reports, and various anthropometric and biochemical measures. The Murray system of *needs* (apparent motives of

the main characters), *press* (environmental forces), and *outcomes* (of needs-press interaction) was the basis for the interpretations. The greatest needs manifested in the stories were aggression, acquisition, autonomy, affiliation, and succorance. Older children showed greater productivity and a larger number of needs. Sex differences were slight with girls being higher on affiliation and deference and boys higher on aggression. Highest press in order of occurrence were aggression, dominance, danger, and loss. Good outcomes of story action predominated over bad outcomes. Though there were some thematic correlates with behavioral and physical variables, relationships with extra-test measures and ratings were usually disappointingly low. The probable reason for the insignificant correlations was the atomistic, artificial nature of the Murray scoring system which ignores narrative relationships and context and minimizes the clinical judgment of the interpreter. The Murray system and all similar methods that attempt psychometric scoring are based on molecular units which give the appearance of being measurements but which in reality are merely ratings derived from subjective judgments, as the rather unsatisfactory reliability figures show (24, 27). Moreover, these rating units are too minute, discrete, and isolated to be as psychologically meaningful as the molar or holistic approaches which sacrifice the pseudo-objectivity that comes from counting units of dubious significance but preserve the larger configurations of the stories and are therefore sounder even though seemingly more subjective.

The other research was recently published by Symonds (27). A special set of pictures was administered to 40 boys and girls of junior and senior high school age, who concurrently were given personality inventories, rated by their teachers, and studied clinically by psychologists. Evaluation of the narratives was accomplished mainly by the enumeration of recurring themes without any attempt at interrelating them. Themes involving aggression and family relationships were uniformly found. Eroticism, by which was apparently meant heterosexual relations of a strictly social nature, was very common, but grossly sexual elements in the stories were rarely encountered. This lack, however, was taken care of by symbolic sexual interpretations on the part of the author, whose orientation is "dynamic" in the Freudian sense.

The report contained a paucity of conclusions about adolescence *per se*, possibly because Symonds was as much if not more interested in the possibilities of the TAT as a technique for personality investigation. His principal thesis seemed to be that the thematic fantasies of the subjects and their everyday behavior operate on different and contrasting levels, that trends in overt behavior are not as a rule represented in the stories, and that story preoccupations are not represented in the public personality. Life history data could not be inferred from the stories with any show of confidence. These conclusions cannot be taken at face value because they are contra-

dicted by several studies in the literature (7, 8, 9, 12, 18, 21, 25) which show that under proper conditions TAT findings and overt behavior may be congruent and because Symonds' interpretative procedures do not do justice to the rich personological material contained in the stories. His method of relating single fragmentary story themes to external data precludes the possibility of discovering anything but zero or low positive correlations. The same criticism directed at Sanford applies equally to Symonds and to all other scoring systems which extract isolated themes in place of interpreting the stories as a whole. The core of thematic analysis is the logical derivation of conclusions from a multiplicity of clues wherever they may occur in a set of stories. Interpretative methods appropriate to story analysis do not break the stories into artifactual small units but are holistic and thus avoid destroying the complex Gestalten of the narratives. The rival method of relating single themes to the behavioral estimates of teachers and psychologists is sterile and unworkable. It cannot be reasonably expected that high correlations will be obtained between highly complex variables, such as trait ratings made from diverse behaviors, and one-dimensional thematic variables. One example of this fallacy will have to suffice; Symonds found low correlations between psychologists' adjustment ratings and a list of story themes. If, instead, themes had been studied in relationship to one another and to other features of the stories and then conclusions drawn as to adjustment, higher relationships might have been anticipated. Another source of difficulty is that Symonds and his coworkers did not show close agreement in scoring the stories.

Thematic analysts tend to fall into two categories—those who through an imitation of psychometric scoring systems have sought quantification at any cost (1, 3, 17, 23, 29) and those who do a free or global analysis utilizing general principles of interpretation which are logically or empirically derived (10, 11, 20, 22, 30). The latter method seems to be followed by the majority of thematic workers and needless to say is the method followed in this study. The analyst functions in a manner analogous to a detective discovering clues, and by common logic and special experience combines the clues to reach his conclusions. A global analysis is not intuitive but systematic and involves close reasoning which draws heavily on the analyst's resources. It may involve tallying of story motifs as well as other facets of the stories but is much more than a mere enumeration of discrete themes. Thematic clues are not treated in isolation but are manipulated in various logico-clinical relationships to work out conclusions. The technique of analysis used here has been discussed and illustrated more fully elsewhere (10). Such a qualitative approach naturally raises questions about validity; the answer may be found in earlier quantitative and controlled research which yielded high validity coefficients (8, 9). Experiments on TAT validity have

usually turned out positively when clinical interpretation and not psychometric scoring was the mode of attack (cf. reviews in 2 and 29).

In line with the interpretative method, treatment of data in this study de-emphasizes formal statistics, although simple counting is necessary for establishing trends. Customarily analytic treatment in psychological studies consists of breaking down each protocol into small units or particles, preferably measurable, and then summing the total of these units and treating the sums statistically. This is not the method employed here, for the TAT does not lend itself readily to such methods. Better results are obtained if each record is taken as the unit of study and tabulations are made of conclusive data rather than a summation of discrete narrative elements detached from individual records in the series. In this way narrative trends and patterns are neither ignored nor distorted by dissection. We can do worse than take a leaf from the Gestaltist's book and try to preserve the integrity of the whole. In so doing we avoid the atomistic fallacy to which many self-consciously scientific ("number-happy") psychogogues are prone. Hence, the reader seeking statistical tables will be disappointed, for while a large number of tabulations of conclusive data were carried out, they are too numerous and in other ways are unsuited for publication.

The study is thus frankly interpretative and qualitative, and the conclusions, while evidenced, are not objectively proved. This is not the equivalent of saying that the results were obtained impressionistically or speculatively, for considerable caution was expended in arriving at conclusions. The writer believes that sound qualitative methods cautiously applied are preferable, when a choice must be made, to unsound quantitative procedures no matter how superficially scientific they may appear. Knowledge is sometimes better served by observing the spirit rather than the letter of scientific method.

PICTURE ASSOCIATION

The 12 pictures employed were selected as most appropriate for the purposes of this study from those immediately available. Only half of them were taken from the current and standard TAT series published by the Harvard Psychological Clinic; the remainder were selected from earlier editions of the Murray series or from unpublished pictures which nevertheless have previously been used for thematic analysis.¹ The entire set with the proper number designations are found on Plates I-IV.

The subjects wrote out their stories in two sessions of approximately an hour each. Oral instructions were given which disguised the story-telling as a task calling for creative imagination. Group administration was

¹ The writer is indebted to Dr. J. B. Rotter for the use of pictures 6, 8, 9, and 12.

achieved by serial projection of slides of the pictures on a screen in a darkened room. After the group was allowed one minute study of each picture, the room was illuminated with the stimulus still dimly visible, and the subjects began to write. They were permitted seven minutes for each story and were given a time warning one minute before their time elapsed.

Even though the immediate scene portrayed by most of the pictures may seem obvious to the individual reader, examination of the responses for 300 girls shows a very wide range of interpretative possibilities for each picture. The great variety of immediate picture associations for every group studied is the most striking result obtained from a systematic tabulation of the stories elicited by the pictures and may be construed as evidence for the theory of personal projection on which the test is based. Not infrequently the stories showed no apparent relationship to the nature of the pictures; personality organization affects not only the narrative but also the initial perceptual process, although in a few cases poor visual acuity may have been responsible. Although all pictures evoke variety of response, some give rise to more homogeneity of association than others. The least ambiguous, according to a count of the different interpretations for each picture, were pictures 1, 4, 5, 10, 11, and 12. Space does not permit publication of 3600 individual associations, but an attempt will be made to summarize the more common interpretations.

The first picture is 7GF in the standard Harvard series. The predominant interpretation for all groups and ages is that of a mother and child with the occasional substitution of grandmother and grandchild or nurse and patient. The mother is usually seen as telling a story or reading; and if reading, the book is likely to be the Bible. Sometimes the mother is scolding or merely talking with her daughter, or the girl may be daydreaming as the mother is reading. A number of other interpretations are given but are specific to only one or two individuals.

For picture 2, or number 5 in the Harvard set, there are almost as many interpretations as subjects. The human figure is not always perceived as an adult woman, and on rare occasions gender is changed. Fairly routine are household scenes. The figure is most commonly a mother who may be seeking a member of the family, answering the doorbell, calling someone to dinner, investigating an unexpected light or sound, or entering the room of son or daughter to make inquiries. These uneventful domestic interpretations are from time to time relieved by startling events such as having the woman discover a murdered man, a maid stealing, or the fact that her child has run away. In order to call attention to the great number of interpretations possible, a more or less random sampling of associations is listed: neighbor is snooping, grandmother is making granddaughter practice, mother is peeking in on daughter and boy friend, woman is looking for a

lost dog, housewife is having a strange vision, long lost husband is returning home, mother is being given a surprise party, boy is entering a haunted house, guest made nauseous by lobster thermidor is seeking the bathroom, Aunt Polly is investigating the rascality of Tom Sawyer, woman finds her dog and cat fighting, girl is exploring an attic, insane woman is escaping confinement, woman detective is combing the house for murder clues, negro maid is watching a party in progress, housewife finds a dog has damaged her furniture, maid is inspecting her employer's private papers, angry woman hears herself being discussed, and a young girl sees something in the room that she ought not to see. Similar lists could be given for each of the other pictures.

In picture 3, or 8GF of the Harvard set, the human figure is usually a girl or young woman, though she may be a mother, a housewife, or a servant. Daydreaming girl is the modal response, but sometimes the girl is said to be brooding over her problems. Usually she is described as sad, worried, or lonesome; the tone tends to be dysphoric. Not uncommonly the picture is taken to be a model posing for a photograph or painting. A scrub-woman or other domestic relaxing after chores is another fairly common reaction.

For 4 (or 3BM) the majority of the girls believe the figure on the floor is a boy crying—either because his dog is hurt or dead or he has been beaten by Nazis, defeated in a fight, rejected by playmates, punished by parents, or someone in the family has died. Others say he is dead, exhausted, asleep, praying, or (particularly some of the older adolescents) a victim of the war. Sometimes he is a hunchback who is saddened by his deformity, and rather frequently the sexes are reversed and the figure is perceived as a girl.

The lugubrious and cinematic number 5, selected from an earlier edition of the Harvard pictures, is usually seen as a caress or love scene. Proposals, departures, and reunions are common interpretations. Although husband and wife or sweethearts caressing represents the central tendency of the responses, the number of variations possible on what would appear to be an unambiguous picture is surprising. The figures can be anything from brother and sister to a female spy exploiting her victim. Action possibilities include: newlywed husband carrying bride over the threshold, daughter begging father for a new dress, picture in a locket, painting of John Alden and Priscilla, lovers plotting murder of woman's husband, man leaving his wife, nurse comforting doctor, woman pleading for a man's love, and dance-hall hostess and customer.

For picture 6, previously unpublished, the expected mother-child interpretation is common but far from universal. Sometimes the larger figure is a grandmother, aunt, older sister, nurse, or maid, and about one girl in ten says the figure holding the child is a father or grandfather. The usual

action involves play or reunion with the child. Some of the interpretations are ingenious, such as seeing the picture as a ranch hand assisting a boy out of a buggy, mother throwing her child out of the window, African explorer finding a native baby, Mussolini with one of his illegitimate offspring, Hiawatha being lifted up by his grandmother, and a father teaching acrobatics to his daughter.

In picture 7, or 6GF, the man and woman are usually husband and wife or father and daughter. Rarely, possibly because of the apparent age difference, are they sweethearts or lovers. They may be detective and suspect or secretary and employer, who is usually said to be amorously interested in the girl. Sometimes the male figure is intent on killing the woman. An element of surprise or startle on the part of the woman is frequent. If husband and wife, they may be fighting or discussing their children or other domestic affairs. If father and daughter, they may be quarreling or one may be consoling the other, or the daughter may be in the process of being scolded for misconduct, or they may be discussing her future or her boy friends.

In number 8, another unpublished picture, the figures are typically mother and daughter, sisters, or girl friends who are consoling one another or preparing for a date or dance. Some girls are more bloodthirsty and have one of the women strangling the other. Other common interpretations include a sorority initiation, thief stealing a necklace, hairdresser and client, girls at a St. Valentine's Day dance, and actresses or show girls preparing for a performance.

Unpublished picture 9 is predominantly seen as a young girl but sometimes as a woman or even as a boy. The most popular response is that of a girl who is engrossed in sad or nostalgic thoughts. Among the other associations are: a girl who is not allowed to leave the house but is enviously watching other children at play, a girl or boy being disappointed about picnic plans because of the weather, and a young woman watching a prize fight, enjoying the scenery, thinking of suicide, escaping from a fire, or looking at a plane overhead and thinking of its pilot.

The tenth picture (number 2 in the Murray series) gives more stereotyped interpretations. The focal figure is almost always the girl at the left who is usually a farm girl though occasionally she may be a city visitor or the daughter of a plantation owner. She is either going to or coming from school, brooding over personal problems, admiring the beauties of nature, watching farm hands at work or resenting the unhappy fate of the toiling slaves, or planning to escape the hard life of the farm for adventures in the city.

Number 11, which is from an early Harvard set, is uniformly seen as a scene of catastrophe—either illness, death, or murder with the appropriate accompanying emotions of anxiety, grief, and remorse. The most common

response is of a wife weeping for her dying husband, though the woman at the door may be an over-wrought mother, daughter, or sister, and the figure on the bed another member of the family.

The most commonplace interpretation of picture 12 (unpublished) is a domestic scene between grandmother and granddaughter. The two are engaged in talk, usually of a contentious nature, or the child has just brought medicine or water to the old lady. Frequently the older woman is described as mean and hateful, and the young girl is pictured as poisoning her. Variants include an old lady and maid, governess and child, headmistress and recalcitrant pupil, and nurse and supervisor.

PREPUBERAL CHARACTERISTICS

Just as the immediate picture associations are quite varied, so too are the stories and the modes of adjustment that they express. Personalities vary markedly between schools and even within a given school. The most outstanding single finding for the girls on the threshold of puberty, as with their older sisters in pubescence and late adolescence, is the tremendous variety and richness of reactions and types of personality.

No uniform personality pattern was evident for prepuberty. The sentimental cliché of a sweet, innocent, happy child is a myth or at least nothing more than a *persona* of what lies underneath the surface, according to the evidence of projective tests. The interplay of motive and emotion in pre-adolescents is more complex than overt behavior suggests when observations are made casually. Among the varieties of prepuberal personalities encountered were the immature and maternally dependent, the seriously disturbed, the psychosexually precocious, the prim and conventional, the sensitive esthete and nature-lover, the flippant attention-getter, the extraverted-energetic-spirited girl (who may later become Maslow's socially dominant college female), and many others too diverse for ready classification. Despite the heterogeneity among the personalities, certain trends could be established which set off the prepuberals from the older groups.

Interest centered in the home. Familial relationships were more common in the stories than the expression of heterosexual interests or interaction between schoolmates or playmates, despite the great amount of time these children spend in school or on the playground. The nature of the pictures cannot be the explanation because older adolescents and adults, when exposed to the same pictures, do not react in this way. Symonds is in agreement on this point; family themes were found in every one of his cases.

Parent-child more common than sibling relationships. The frequency of parents and children in the stories is much higher than that of brothers and sisters. Their parents evidently are more emotionally significant figures than their siblings.

Mothers have more conspicuous roles than fathers. Contrary to expectations from psychoanalytic theory, stories involving mothers and daughters easily predominate over stories involving fathers and daughters, although there are a few instances where this trend is reversed. Mother and son stories are also common. This is interpreted to mean that for these girls the mother is the central figure in the family constellation and that they are basically still very much dependent emotionally upon her. Some of the girls show a direct, almost tactual dependence which all but disappears in the stories of the older adolescents. The close identification with the maternal parent is in harmony with earlier studies (15, 28).

Maternal ambivalence. Many though not all the prepuberal girls reveal conflicting tendencies between maternal dependence and revolt against the mother for being prohibitive and censorious. The expression of aggressive impulses is sometimes indirect as when the older woman in picture 12, called variously grandmother, aunt, foster mother but rarely the real mother, is chosen as the target of the narrator's hostility. This picture for all groups and ages seems to serve as a common outlet, or safety valve, for hostile feelings to the mother, feelings which they cannot consciously accept. At times the father in the role of stern disciplinarian is the object of disapproval.

Dissension between parents as well as disagreements between parents and children are often in evidence. The impression one receives from the story fantasies of these girls is that the home is a place of strife and friction. Perhaps this may be partially accounted for by the necessity for telling stories, since placid and uneventful home scenes would not make for very lively stories. Over and beyond this possibility, however, their own lives at home must to some extent be mirrored in the narratives.

Weak drive for achievement. Few heroines, the primary identification of these girls, show any striving toward school or worldly accomplishment. Masculine protest mechanisms are absent. Even at this early stage of development more value was placed on heterosexual and family relationships. A likely interpretation is that at this age most girls are not very much concerned with achievement; any apparent concern as at school is not deep-seated and may be parentally imposed or the manifestation of a desire for security through conformity.

Psychosexual immaturity. The amount of interest in boys varied from girl to girl, but the anticipated immaturity was the usual finding. Most of the prepuberals neglect this theme or when they make casual reference to it the writing is without empathy. A few show anticipatory responses as in the illustrated case of Constance. Another with incipient interest is the negro girl from Anthony Junior High School who writes with both naive charm and original orthography:

One day Billie was his name he come over to my home and we went out and he ask me to marrary him and I sad yes and I sad that we shood get marrary on that next week so all that week I was very bezzy and the day had come and I get marrary and we went out in our home and he told me that it was fore me allways then we went away for our honny moon and when I came back I had a baby and lived very happy every after. (Picture 6.)

With the younger girls love and marriage are equated with love leading automatically to the conjugal state.

A few are precocious like Margaret who is the only one in the prepuberal series who deals directly with sex. Another who is running ahead of her classmates in psychosexual development is the Meadowlane girl preoccupied with dates and dances who relates stories like the following:

Sue Ann was just thinking. She was 17 and had just come home from school. She was going to go to art school which made her very happy. Tonight she was going out with Bud. He was swell but a bit conceited. Even though he was captain of the football team and editor in chief of the Central High News he was a bit conceited. Then their was Dick was small, frail but very sweet and considerate, he was a swell kid also. Both men had asked her to go with them to the Senior Prom. She could not make up her mind. Both boys had asked her though Bud had asked her first. It was just out of politeness she had to tell Dick she was going with Bud for she really was fond of Dick. Oh what problems a girl has. (Picture 3.)

Much more typical of the pre-adolescent is this ten-year-old child's impatient view of romance (picture 5): "*This* story is about a girl and a boy, they go out every night and dance, etc. It end the way they all do." Of the various schools Meadowlane is the most mature psychosexually and Urban Elementary School, which has much younger girls, the least advanced.

Maternal sentiment undeveloped. While influenced by their mothers these girls do not identify with them specifically in their role as mothers. Picture 6, which was included because it was thought that it might be evocative of maternal feelings, only occasionally yields mother-child stories with this group, and then their stories are mere stereotypes which are told without genuine feeling.

Wish-fulfillment. A number of stories were obviously examples of wishful thinking. Here are two typical examples:

The old woman which is the girl grandmother is going to die any minute now. The girl behind her is eleven years old and very pretty. Someday she is going to be the International Champion Skater. She has dark brown hair and deep blue eyes. Her name is (her own name). She lives in New

York with her parents and her fourteen year old brother, whom she hates. She is of Canadian, Scotch, and Irish decent. (Picture 12. Urban Elementary School.)

Mary had always dreamt of things she could never have. A fine house, servants, a mink coat, etc. You see she lived in one of those small tenements on the East Side of New York. Her father was dead and her mother was a land Lady of a few of the tenements around their. Mary had been through high School and wanted to go to college but natorly she couldn't afford it.

Mary's teacher had told her that she could try for a scholarship. She was going to try that day. Mary makes the scholarship and does very well. There she meets a boy whom later she falls in love with and marries. He suddenly acquires lots of money and she gets all she dreamed of. (Picture 3. Meadowlane.)

While daydreamish and autistic trends were more in evidence among them than among the older girls, they did not occur quite as much as might have been expected. It is interesting to compare stories with dreams for wishful content. Studies of dreams have shown that young children predominantly dream in wishful terms but that as the child becomes older, naive childlike wish-fulfillment declines because he learns from the accumulation of frustrating experiences that the world is not made expressly for him (13, 19).

Emotional disturbance. More evidence of serious emotional maladjustment was discovered than might have been anticipated. Many stories were unhappy and morbid, full of violence and disturbed family relations. The case of Margaret is a good example. Another is a Meadowlane girl who is self-preoccupied and feels inferior, works out unhappy narrative developments and outcomes, fills her stories with suicides and murders, and identifies herself with physically handicapped characters. One of her more forlorn stories follows:

Mrs. Silver was young but very frail she would only sit all day and wonder why she couldn't be swallowed up by some beastly animal she was having no fun out of life no children she was also a widow. She wasn't frail enough not to go out and have a good time but she really didn't care she thought she might as well die and decided to comet suicide and she did the next day there was no frail person looking out of the window and never would be. (Picture 3. Meadowlane.)

The group was rated for mental health on a five-point scale. Over one-quarter of prepubescent girls were considered as having problems serious enough to warrant attention. Universal Grammar School fared the worst in the ratings and Meadowlane the best. The pathologist's fallacy may have been operative in these ratings and the amount of emotional disturbance

exaggerated. It could be, as with the Rorschach in children, that signs pathognomonic of severe upset in adults have a different meaning in the context of child thought and are not necessarily pathological at all.

Considerable violence and bloodshed: killings, murders, deaths, suicides, crime. Their narratives tend not to be subtle and they run to violence and emotional extremes. Little use is made of pastels and shadings; pure color is preferred. This characteristic, while far from universal with the younger groups, is much more prevalent than with the older adolescents. These results are in agreement with those of Sanford and Symonds whose adolescents were also partial to aggressive themes. The bloodthirstiness of our prepuberals is the more surprising in that the group included no boys. The excessive violence of the stories is open to such varied interpretations as: 1) a craving for and delight in excitement; 2) the violence results from and is an expression of cultural banalities like radio serials, comic strips, and juvenile movie horrors to which they often expose themselves; and 3) it is symptomatic of deep-seated hostility and aggression which are ordinarily muted by social control. But when crimes of violence are committed, the evil-doer, as Sanford found, is usually punished. So moralistic are a few of the girls that they do not identify with the mischievous child but take the part of the punitive parent.

One of the most commonplace stories is that which deals with the death of a parent or other close relative. One explanatory possibility, though not too plausible, is that the child is hostile to the parent and unconsciously desires his removal from the scene; another and more likely explanation is that the child is expressing his anxiety over the possibility of loss of emotional support resulting from death.

Emotional intensity. The prepuberal girls pack their stories with emotion. They are much more given to affective expression than the older adolescents. This is another instance of using the undiluted brush. Like their melodramatic proclivities, it exemplifies less modulation of primitive emotional impulses and less differentiation of psychic functioning at this stage of development.

Creative imagination. These children have poorer creative imagination than adolescents or adults. Their narratives do not demonstrate good creativity so much as a paralogical imagination and in many cases greater constriction. Stereotyping is much in evidence, one example of which is the effort to create provocative stories by a show of violence. Stories are shorter and not as full-bodied as those of older adolescents or adults. Sanford has also found that his older adolescents give more productive and vivid fantasies. What passes for greater imagination in children at this age may indicate nothing more than a poorer grasp of reality. They do less reality testing and therefore give more unlikely stories. Their stories are also looser

in construction and show poorer form and less intellectual control. The free fantasies of early childhood, though still present in some cases, are gradually being pressed out of existence and have not yet been replaced by the richer and more truly creative productions that come from the greater intellectual development and experience of the older adolescent.

Miscellaneous narrative characteristics. Young girls are frequently seen laughing and giggling, yet except for an occasional flippancy humor was rare, which may be because the testing was done in school situations and levity was considered inappropriate. Except that the older woman in picture 1 is often said to be reading the Bible, religious references are uncommon. The prepuberals' stories are likely to be improbable and divorced from reality. More formal characteristics include a tendency toward dialogue, the use of titles at the beginning of a story, and serial stories which incorporate several pictures into a single narrative. Prepuberals are inclined to tell stories in the first person singular and even occasionally use their own names or names similar to theirs; no doubt this indicates a more direct and less disguised form of projection than is encountered in the more sophisticated older subjects.

The enumerated findings indicate that these girls are psychologically still very much children and have not emerged much from the protective shell of child life and child fantasy. The preoccupation with home, the strong if ambivalent dependence on their mothers, the lack of drive for accomplishment outside the home, the minor interest in boys, the fact that maternal motivation is still in the future, the wishful thinking, the violence and emotionality of the stories—all these are simply variations on the same theme, which is that these girls are still in an early stage of the maturing process. This immaturity comes out in many of their topical interests—stories about broken dolls, pets, fairy tales, restrictions on play, being frightened by animals, or being rewarded or punished by their parents. Once in a while a girl is sensitive about her own immaturity. One of these appends a defiantly apologetic note at the end of her stories, saying that the stories are childlike but then so were the pictures and her mood.

PUBERAL CHARACTERISTICS

The puberal girls show trends similar to those of the prepubescents, who are on the average about a year younger. Some of the minor findings may be briefly disposed of without elaborate reiteration, such as the continued use of the first person, serial stories, dialogue, infrequent humor, melodramatic violence, excessive emotionality, and wishful thinking. Contrary to the classical literature on adolescence of the Stanley Hall vintage, no upswing in religious interest was evident. Nor will the late teen-agers be

found to manifest any greater religious fervor than the younger adolescents. The variety of reaction patterns and individual personalities is equally as impressive as before the menarche.

No gross differences between prepuberal and puberal girls. In line with other researches, the advent of menstruation was not found to be necessarily accompanied by the violent storm and stress that, according to pioneer adolescent investigations, it was pictured as bringing in its wake. The menarche may be a sudden and dramatic event in the lives of these girls, but no psychophysical parallelism exists such as a sudden spurt of psychological growth or a spontaneous outburst of sexual interest to match the altered physical status. Physiologically, the underlying endocrine changes have been going on for several years, and approximately one and a half years before the onset of menstruation there is an acceleration in the oestrogenic output (24). Psychologically, the conditions are analogous, for the psychological changes are a continuous, slowly changing process with no abrupt discontinuity. Personality development usually follows the principle of change by evolution rather than revolution. Indeed, some of the prepuberal girls are less childish and more advanced psychosexually than the average puberal.

Age differences more important than differences in physical status. Some but not drastic differences were found between the prepubescents and the postpubescents, especially in the degree of heterosexual interest. The question that immediately arises is whether the maturational changes are attributable to the physiological processes which lead to menstruation or whether they are mainly a function of the greater average age of the puberal girls and hence are more psychosocially than biologically determined. Two analyses were done to throw light on this issue.

Psychosexual maturity as manifested by the number of heterosexual stories and the interest shown in the stories in the relationships between the sexes was rated on a three-point scale for two groups of pre-menarcheal and post-menarcheal girls matched for age (paired N of 36). The average ratings were almost identical. A supplementary check of the hypothesis was carried out by comparing younger and older post-menarcheal girls. The cutting points were below 13 and above 13.5 years. Psychosexual interest was, as expected, greater among the older girls, though the differences were not statistically significant. Nevertheless, the trend was there, and the upshot of the two comparisons is to suggest, although not prove, considering the subjectivity of the TAT approach, that age differences are more important than physical status in determining psychosexual interest. This conclusion, if confirmed, would lead to a sociological interpretation. Menstruation and its accompanying secondary sexual characteristics are meaningful not in any absolute sense but only according to the social, cultural, and familial milieu in which they are embedded.

Psychosexuality. While the prepuberal and puberal groups overlap considerably here as elsewhere, the older group does show more concern with psychosexual themes. They apparently feel more acceptance of the traditional feminine role with more desire for marriage and children. Nevertheless, most of these puberal girls are quite immature psychosexually and seem more like children than young women. Considering their age this statement may sound somewhat truistic, but what is meant is that they react more like prevalent ideas of child behavior than what is usually conjured up by the term adolescent.

The range of variation extends from very immature girls like Julia to the more precocious puberals who wrote these romantic fantasies:

Oh what a glorius evening. Richard is so handsome and I really think I am in love with him. Oh gosh there goes my last pair of stockings. But who cares it is to lovely tonight to care. Hum he hum. The picture was very good the little that I saw of it. All I can remember is Richards hand holding mine and the smell of his hair tonic and our goodnight kiss. Gee I'm tired I guess I better hit the hay. Tomorrow's another day and then after this week flies by I'll be seeing Richard again and maybe he'll take me to Coney Island. I do like Coney Island especially when I'm with Richard. Goodnight sweet wonderful world. (Picture 5. Susan B. Anthony Junior High School.)

She was thinking, thinking of the date she would have tonight. He was handsome, she thought, and nice too. She hoped he would like her too. She was very excited! Ding dong. Oh, that must be he! "Connie? are you there?" "Yes Bill, I'll be down in a sec". . . . (Picture 3. Meadowlane.)

Sally was very much in love with Peter Taylor. She was supposed to meet him this afternoon so she hurriedly got dressed and skipped down the block to the appointed place. Pete was waiting and hand in hand they strolled toward the park. They hadn't been together for a long time. They spent the whole afternoon looking into each others eyes which reflected their inner souls and all their emotions. They sat thus for a few hours and then Sally went home very much elated and very much in love. (Picture 5. Meadowlane.)

The freshness and exuberance of the first two stories are scarcely to be expected after the age of 20 and are even rare among the late adolescents. The dreamy-eyed romanticism of the third story, however, persists longer.

Love affairs with clearcut sexual features are almost completely absent. A curious finding is the increase for this group of sex misidentification for characters in the pictures. Not only the ambiguous number 4 but others, notably 6 and 9 and sometimes even apparently obvious pictures like 2 and 8, which are usually interpreted as females, are seen by deviant subjects as males. The significance is not clear, but it may indicate wavering in sexual identification. Particularly would this be likely in the individual case if

there were other signs of a lack of feminine development such as masculine protest mechanisms or avoidance of heterosexual relations. These remarks are necessarily conjectural, since the writer has no experience with the thematic productions of female homosexuals. In male inverts, however, the one most conspicuous diagnostic indicator is sexual misidentification with figures usually seen as males being interpreted as females.

Increased maternal sentiment. With the puberals there is more narrative expression of desires to nurture and mother than in prepubescence. About half the group give stories to picture 6 which show empathetic feeling for the maternal figure.

Home and family ties. Parent-child and to a much less degree sibling relationships are again the foci of many of the stories. The girls seem to be if anything more critical of their parents than was true of the prepuberal subjects, and some show desires for greater autonomy and independence from parental supervision.

Predominance of maternal figures. Maternal are more common than paternal characters, but fathers play a greater role than in prepuberty. This may indicate not only greater interest in the father but a slight lessening of the maternal influence.

Disinterest in achievement. Achievement whether in school, athletic pursuits, or the occupational world seldom occurs for the heroines or even the heroes of their stories, and when there is worldly success it concerns heroines who become dancers, actresses, singers, or something equally glamorous and unlikely in their future lives.

Maladjustment. While adolescence is supposed to be the time of increased conflict, the stories of puberals do not give evidence for either greater or less difficulty in coping with personal problems when compared with the pre-adolescents. The proportion of emotionally disturbed girls is constant for the three groups of prepubescents, post-pubescents, and late adolescents.²

The findings for the puberal period, then, are similar to those for prepuberty. The puberal girls are still quite immature but as they grow older, because of subtle societal coercion and, to an indeterminate degree, physiological changes within themselves, they are showing greater interest in the opposite sex and identifying more with the maternal role.

CHARACTERISTICS OF LATE ADOLESCENCE

The personalities of the oldest adolescent girls again show a widely variegated picture. Marked differences which reflect socio-economic stratifications

² The actual figures are: prepubescents, 29 per cent; post-pubescents, 31 per cent; late adolescents, 30 per cent.

can be found between the schools that comprise the group, but this only partly explains the variety since each school has its own wealth of personality contrasts. As with the younger girls, humor and religious themes are rare, but stories which are told in the first person or which involve the serial form or a good deal of dialogue have disappeared. Appearing almost for the first time are stories which include psychological analysis of individual motivation, illustrate masculine protest mechanisms, or reveal concern with world affairs. When a girl shows awareness of the political scene, which does not occur often, there is usually an undercurrent of protest at the status quo as in the case of the Diana College girl who interprets picture 6 as a scene from a play entitled "We Want a Truly Democratic World."

Great disparity between the late adolescents and the younger groups. A hiatus exists between these girls and those hovering around the menarche. We are no longer dealing with children but with girls who think like young women and who in every respect are more mature psychologically. This of course could have been expected, since the average ages of the three developmental groups are respectively 12.1, 13.2, and 18.4 years. Without identification one would have difficulty in deciding whether a set of TAT stories of one of the younger girls were those of a prepuberal or a post-puberal, but there could be little confusion in deciding on the group identity of the stories of the older adolescents.

Familial relationships decline in frequency. As these maturing girls become increasingly emancipated from emotional ties at home, heterosexual relations succeed domestic as the chief focus of narration. While action involving mothers and sons or daughters is still numerically more common, there is a relative increase in stories about siblings or fathers and daughters. Fathers and daughters tend to be in conflict because the father interferes with the personal life of the daughter. Such narratives as the following do not occur among the younger groups:

"And you are aware of the consequences?" Mary's father asked her as he bent over the couch for a closer examination of what her eyes might reveal.

"Yes," she replied, fully realizing the import of her answer. She had met the young man only a short time ago, and because she lived alone with her father, he had asked her to marry him the evening before. Her father's anxious and rather hostile face made her remember Al's words of last night. "Marry me, now, before your father takes away all your strength and even the possibility of marrying anyone. He has his clutches on you and refuses to let go. So please forget him."

Her final answer, "Yes," meant defiance, but also a newborn freedom. (Picture 7. Barbara Allen Women's Club.)

Orientation to the feminine role. The great majority of the older adolescents are oriented to some form or interpretation of a feminine role, al-

though for most of them full realization of femininity is in the future. Marriage, children, and social relations between young men and women are very common in the stories. The sensual aspect of love affairs and marriage is touched upon with extreme rarity, which may be merely an expression of propriety and does not of course mean that sex has little significance for them. Nevertheless, despite the lack of direct thematic evidence, the guess may be hazarded that their area of least development is the acceptance of the sexual aspect of femininity. In contrast, male adolescents become conscious early of physical tensions which may or may not be fully integrated later with affectional needs. The process in girls is more likely reversed with a superficial social acceptance of femininity and, in many cases, a culturally stimulated romantic ideology preceding the development of sexual potentialities into a full-bodied psychosexual readiness for marriage. In frigid women the realization of the sensual capacity and its integration with affectional strivings are never completed:

Adolescent romanticism. Traditional young girl romanticism and idealism over marriage are frequent but far from universal. Only a minority, though a strong minority, express such values. A good example of romanticism is a story told by a somewhat immature and maternally dependent Diana College girl with old-fashioned ideas who is "in love with love." She has a tremendous need for security and is unconsciously seeking an ideal mate from whom she can expect the emotional support her mother has previously given her.

Raining again and with her head in the stars. It wasn't often that she felt the desire to sing, laugh & cry—Every emotion wound up in a little ball—She was happy—happy as a swallow in the sky—no cares—no worries—She felt free—She was in love—passionately and securely. The word kept beating in her heart & kept on repeating itself in her mind. Did all the girls feel as she did when they thought of their favorite beau? It couldn't be possible.

No one could love a man as she did! Let it rain, pour, but she felt secure just with memories of the past & with plans for the future. (Picture 9.)

Of the college girls the Keats Junior College students are the most romantic-minded as well as the most narcissistic. An example from this group and another lyric rhapsody to love is the following story for picture 5:

The couple sat holding hands for several minutes, neither daring to speak. No man made words could possibly express the surging feeling within them. "Funny," thought she, "it's such a strange sensation. It's like feeding a hunger." He, oddly enough, was thinking the same thing. Here was the emotion, which poets embroidered, which artists depicted, which song-writers made trite, binding them closely together, and neither knew what to say. All the beautifully written phrases of literature seemed insignificant

and crude at this moment. They had found what so many had hoped to find, what many finally attained, and what some even would know. They had found each other. They had found peace in their love. Since no spoken sound ushered from either one, they embraced and surrounded themselves with a emotion far greater than both could express.

By way of contrast many of the girls, notably at Diana College, are flatly realistic and practical about marriage and heterosexual relationships. Diana College students take marriage for granted but with little romanticism, the story quoted above being exceptional.

While sex stories are extremely rare, here is an example from a typical Keats girl of a more sophisticated approach:

The room is a hotel room where a young couple has gone to meet friends. The expected friends weren't there but the key was under the mat so they went in. They are very much in love and things progressed to the point where she couldn't say no to sleeping with him. She leaves the room abashed and amused and amazed at what she's done. The young man is to worn out to get up and is lying fatigued on the bed. Tomorrow she will have to deal with the moral law installed in her, but she's glad she's gone ahead. (Picture 11.)

These adolescents manifest a multitude of attitudes about their life goals and their futures, ranging from the oldfashioned receptive-submissive-maternal type to the girl whose main objective is social amelioration or worldly achievement with heterosexual relationships taking a distinctly secondary role. Falling between these extremes are those who, out of need for emotional security and conformity, seek marriage but without romantic embellishments. There are also the high-spirited few who take a basically feminine role but in the newly emergent modern manner, who want their futures to encompass everything—love, marriage, children, and a career. This fantasy, for example, requires little interpretation:

Someday, I'll be a great success. I'll be the head personel director for General Motors or Standard Oil or some big concern. I'll fly to South America, to France, to Spain. I'll wear beautifully tailored suits, have sleek hair-combs, my own secretary. When I'm at the New York home office, I will live in a low rambling home in Manhasset and drive to work in a light blue convertible with red leather seats, letting the wind tear through my hair giving me a feeling of exhilaration and independence.

Maybe I may get married, but not until I've had my career. Perhaps when I'm in my late twenties or early thirties I will want to settle down. I'll have five children—four boys and one girl. Mm, Don should be a well established doctor by then. (Picture 3. Diana College.)

Maternal sentiment. The older adolescent reveals maternal feelings in more instances than does the puberal girl. The shift is from more to less

maternal dependence as adolescence progresses and from less to greater identification with the maternal role itself. This story by a Knickerbocker High School girl is typical except for the strategic exploitation of maternity.

Nothing can be more endearing than a mother's love for her child. She rejoices in the thought that she has helped to bring into this world a healthy wholesome youngster. She's proud too because she knows her husband loves her more because of this child who is the joy of both parents. Right now she's tossing her little girl in the air and is happy that the child is joyful at her mother's attentiveness. In that fleeting moment her mother thinks ahead when she'll be grown up and if she is as fortunate she will have a loving husband and a child who will be as much a joy to her as she has been to her mother. (Picture 6.)

Little drive for worldly accomplishment. One of the focal interests of this study in the beginning was in finding out whether the oncoming generation of young women would show greater desire for achievement in the world of affairs than women have traditionally shown, whether, as some have suggested, we were not evolving a new type of woman for whom marriage and maternity were less important values than they have been in the past. Insofar as the TAT can give evidence, the answer is a resounding negative. While a lack of autistic achievement in stories at younger levels is understandable, by late adolescence achievement fantasies should be apparent if the girls have such aspirations. Such was not the case, for only a scattered few show strong interest in mundane achievement. Conflicts in the stories between marriage and a career are usually resolved by a choice of marriage, or if a desire for a career is present it is secondary to the primary marital goal. In their study of college women Loomis and Green (14) also found that ability to attract men and marital aspirations were greater preoccupations than career goals. When achievement needs are expressed thematically they almost invariably tend toward glamorous occupations.

Marital disharmonies is a common theme. The large number of disturbed marital relationships in the stories is a disconcerting commentary on American marriages because they reflect primarily the parents' unions as these girls see them. Keats girls have the most disturbed marriages with stories full of drinking, divorce, and infidelity. Marriages in the Knickerbocker High School group are also often unhappy.

Greater differentiation and less diffuse emotionality. The TAT furnishes many illustrations of the fact that psychic functioning becomes more differentiated during the period of growth. Stories are less violent, and there is a greater scattering or diversity of themes and topics for story-telling. Highly emotional stories are rarer in late adolescence. As the girls become more seasoned and experienced with increasing age their emotions are curbed and modulated, so that the affectivity of their narratives is both

less diffuse and less intense. Moreover, educational influences and other social pressures doubtless operate to increase intellectual control at the expense of naive emotional expression.

Realistic attitudes prevail. Except for the minority who have highly romantic ideas about love and marriage, the adolescent girls show themselves to be realistic, practical, and matter-of-fact in their basic outlook. Wishful thinking, though present, is less frequent than in the younger ages. Their stories are more plausible and realistic, and dramatic effects have replaced bloodcurdling melodramatics. Diana College is the most mature and down-to-earth of the late adolescent groups while Keats girls, who as the most privileged group have probably always had good reason for higher expectations, are the least realistic.

Maladjustment. Tallying the number of the rather seriously maladjusted yields the same proportion as with the prepuberal and puberal subjects. The impression gained is that the unstable girls would have also appeared disturbed if they had been tested when they were prepuberal or puberal. Most of their difficulties appear to be deep-rooted with family relationships as the most likely source. Feminine acceptance seems to be related to good adjustment and non-acceptance to maladjustment.

In summary, the late adolescents, while they have not completed the maturational process, are much more mature than the younger age groups. They are less preoccupied with family affairs and less maternally dependent. There is among them an increasing concern with males, marriage, and maternity. They are more realistic and objective, their reactions are more differentiated and show less obvious autism and a firmer control over their emotions.

THE ECONOMIC VARIABLE

Certain differences have been found to exist between the three developmental stages. The task of discovering central tendencies for the three groups was made more difficult by the fact that maturational changes were cut across and often obscured by cultural, ethnic, religious, and economic variables which were a function of the highly heterogeneous nature of the sampling. This heterogeneity is typical of New York City and occurs not only between school populations but even to some degree within some of the schools represented. Anthropological lore has clearly indicated that the experience of adolescence is conditioned by cultural factors, and the present thematic evidence suggests that within a given broad culture, such as the American "melting pot," sub-cultural variations and social class distinctions may radically affect the course taken by adolescent personality development. The typical Universal Grammar School girl is a far cry from her more privileged age peers in Meadowlane or Urban Elementary School, and simi-



1



2



3

PLATE I—Thematic Apperception Test pictures 1, 2, and 3 used in testing the 300 girls in this study.



11



12

PLATE IV—Thematic Apperception Test pictures 11, 10, and 12 used in testing the 300 girls in this study.

larly there are striking contrasts between adolescents who attend Keats, Diana College, and the Barbara Allen Women's Club.

Most of the ethnic, national, and religious groups are not represented in large enough numbers in our sample to be compared systematically. But the number of cases is adequate for economic comparisons, and attention can be profitably focused on such socio-economic variables as are reflected in the different schools. The greatest scrutiny will be directed at the economic extremes of the highly privileged and the under-privileged, for there the differences can be brought out most clearly.

The families that send their children to Universal Grammar School are at the lowest rung of the economic ladder. Slums of the worst type surround the school, and the median I.Q. is below normal for American school children. The literacy exhibited by the Universal girls with their innumerable misspellings, faulty diction, and poor grammar is shockingly low for seventh and eighth grade pupils. The scholastic attainment and emotional condition of these children as reflected on the TAT is easily the poorest of all groups studied. Their stories, which are highly dysphoric and morbid, full of violence and disturbed family relations, give explicit testimony to the grave conflicts and anxieties found in the inner life of these girls. The next two stories from the same girl are a stark example of their affectional deprivation.

The Sorrowful Lad

Jimmy was known as the sorrowful lad he was always feeling sorry for everyone. To my regret no-one ever felt sorry for him, for he was worth feeling sorry for. However Jimmy wasn't worrying about someone now for he was very happy because his mother & father were coming to see him for he was in boarding school. The day came when parents were coming to see their children. However Jimmy was very disappointed, for his mother neither his father came. Jimmy never knew the reason why. Jimmy stood by the window. (Picture 9.)

The Home of the Statues

The Home of the Statues was in a very small town. It had a peculiar name for it, but it suited Bobby. Every child in town was afraid to go in there but Bobby wasn't. He used to practically live in there, but he loved it. To him it seemed that statues were his brothers & sister's which he never had. Bobby never had any sister's or brother's, he only had a mother & father. Now he only had a mother for his father died shortly after Bobby's first birthday. So you see why Bobby liked statues. (Picture 11.)

Sometimes economic deprivation is also depicted in their stories. A typical instance is this tale:

This story is going to be about a poor girl that always wanted a new dress. Every time she would go to town for groceries she always pass by

and look in the window of this little dress shop she would stand there about 5 minutes and felt very sad. When she goes home she sits up in her room and never come down until supper. (Picture 3.)

Susan B. Anthony Junior High School, which has a wide range of economic conditions represented among the families of its students, presents a much more wholesome picture. Its students are less hostile and melodramatic, show a better balance of emotional forces, and are more literate than those at Universal.

Urban Elementary School and Meadowlane are economically and culturally favored groups. Both schools are progressive and have school populations which are partly selected for superior intelligence. Their students give more productive stories and show more fluency of imagination than is true in either Anthony Junior High or Universal Grammar School. Neither group has suffered from the economic and affectional deprivation of girls at Universal, and the phenomenal world of their stories is a warmer and friendlier place. Both schools have much in common, though the Urban girls are much younger and show more childish trends and maternal dependence. They are also quite immature psychosexually, while Meadowlane is the most advanced of all the schools at both the prepuberal and puberal levels.

Among the older adolescents the working girls of the Barbara Allen Women's Club stand out because of their relatively simple personality structure, lack of sophistication, and naive autism. They give the impression of being but slightly interested in the jobs that economic necessity has probably forced on them. Educational limitations are indicated by spelling errors and faulty syntax, while cultural aspirations seem non-existent. Many of them seem to feel lonely and crave affection and security, which they hope to realize in marriage. Inclined to be straightlaced and conventional, they are among the more idealistic and romantic of the older girls. The constantly recurring motif of their stories is the need for a Wonderful Male who will rescue them from their loneliness and struggles with the world and give them the security they crave. The frequent economic categorizing of their characters is suggestive of present preoccupations and stringent financial backgrounds.

The young women at the Knickerbocker High School come from lower middle-class homes and sometimes express sensitivity to economic deprivation. They do not stand out in relief in any way except that their adjustment is poorest among the late teen-agers. Depression and violence are common in their stories, and their fictional marriages are often disturbed.

Diana College girls, who are usually from low to middle class families, are characterized by the most flatly objective stories of the adolescent group. They avoid romantic approaches to love and marriage but are strongly attracted to matrimony as a goal. Their stories are good in quality and show

intelligence as well as a firm grasp of reality. Preoccupation with economic and political affairs, though found only among a sprinkling of adolescents, is most frequently encountered in this public college.

Keats Junior College girls are in the highest economic bracket, and awareness of social class distinctions is sometimes observed in their stories. Maids and other servants are more likely to be a part of the narrative background in this group, and occasionally there is a note of social condescension—like the young lady who says of her heroine: "To be sure, she was a servant, and he a sailor, but they loved each other." Keats girls with their frequent mention of divorce, alcohol, and illicit sex are in a sense of the word more sophisticated; they are also more narcissistic than the other adolescent groups, and their values are more hedonistic. In another sense they are less sophisticated, since their range of experience is narrow and they have a less adequate realization of reality. Without exception they are oriented to marriage, but their conception of marriage is unduly glamorous. Maternity has less meaning for them than for the other adolescents. They are interested in people in general and in the relationships between the sexes in particular. Many of them attempt psychological analyses of the motives of their characters. Family ties are not close; they are the most emancipated of any of the adolescent groups. Keats students share with the Barbara Allen girls the distinction of having the lowest standards of literacy. Their spelling in particular might be said to be casual.

Students at Elizabeth Browning College are mostly from the highest economic stratum too but appear to be brighter or at any rate show more intellectual seriousness. Like those at Keats, these girls are intrigued by the analysis of people's motivation. Another similarity is that their stories contain many problem situations involving interaction between the sexes, and their marriages are frequently disturbed. By contrast with Keats, Elizabeth Browning girls show less flashy sophistication, are not as glamour-smitten or narcissistic, and appear to be more realistic and somewhat more maternally inclined. A theme that several times appears among both colleges is a fear of marrying below their present economic level. They relate stories of women who become enamored of struggling young men and wonder if they will be happy if they have to give up their present style of living. Needless to say, this source of anxiety occurs only among the Keats and Elizabeth Browning groups. An illustration from Keats is the following story told for picture 3:

Barbara S— when in her early teens had come from a fairly well to do family & had been given everything—Since grammar school she had had an "on again off again" romance with a boy who's parents had a smaller income—Barbara had once decided she could never marry this boy as she was afraid she could not have the same security her family had given—As fate had her way Barbara & her childhood sweetheart were married

and led a fun filled & easy going life for several years—Her husband continued in his fathers footsteps and realizing they were getting no place socially or economically Barbara let herself go, and used to spend hours at a time daydreaming & wishful thinking of her bright past—She loved her husband more than anything, but even then nagged at him constantly about making more money. Until they both wondered if it was the social position.

Several generalizations are possible concerning subjects with marked differences in socio-economic status. First, the economic background itself and concomitant attitudes are likely to be reflected at either of the economic extremes. Wealthy girls more often have servants in the background of their stories, show consciousness of social class and fear of romance clashing with luxury living. The under-privileged often mention lack of money as a barrier to personal happiness and show a desire for improved economical circumstances.

There seems to be a correlation between socio-economic status and emotional health similar to the correlation reported between economic conditions and intelligence. The data from the Chicago sociologists on the incidence of psychosis as related to economic zones in the city would indicate such a conclusion (5). Studies on personal adjustment, usually utilizing the inventory method, show similar trends (4, 6, 26). In the present TAT data, at each developmental level, the greatest proportion of maladjustment occurs in schools like Universal Grammar and Knickerbocker High School where the economic level is low. The least maladjusted prepuberals were those at Meadowlane, where the students come from favored homes; among the puberals the best adjustment was found at Susan B. Anthony Junior High School, which has a wide spread of economic conditions. Among older subjects the percentages of maladjustment were low at the wealthier schools, Keats and Elizabeth Browning, and highest at under-privileged Knickerbocker High School. Barbara Allen had a small proportion of serious disturbance, but the number of cases was too small for comparative purposes. The coincidence of emotional maladjustment with poverty is more obvious than the converse relation of healthy mental status with wealth.

Regarding the distribution of intellectual and imaginative abilities on the TAT, the results show that among the prepuberals and puberals the girls in the higher brackets give a good account of themselves, while Universal Grammar School girls do miserably. However, when the comparison is carried to the late adolescents, the relationship breaks down. The best quality of stories and the greatest evidence of intellectual attainment were in Diana College, which is a public institution, and in fashionable Elizabeth Browning. Literary and imaginative standards were lowest among the working girls of the Barbara Allen Women's Club and the Keats girls, who come from wealthy homes. Among the older girls education levels out the

differences. Schools with the highest educational standards show more intellect and creativity regardless of the economic background of their students. While such an evaluation must consider the likelihood of selective factors in school admission, the most parsimonious interpretation of the present evidence would suggest that apparent intellectual and imaginative differences are due largely to more or less favorable environmental circumstances.

Violence in the stories, which may plausibly be considered as an expression of aggression, is more often encountered among children from the less favored homes. This may be interpreted in accordance with the frustration-aggression hypothesis if it is understood that the frustration is not only economic but also affectional in nature.

Autistic trends are most common at the economic extremes but take different directions in each. For example, the Universal Grammar School girls indulge themselves in fantasies which fulfill their desire for greater emotional and financial security than they know in reality, while the Keats girls, who probably have been indulged from early childhood, seek excitement and glamorous romance.

SUMMARY

Three hundred girls of varied socio-economic background, evenly divided among the prepubescent, post-pubescent, and late adolescent stages of development, were studied by means of the Thematic Apperception projective test. Statistical analysis of fragmentary narrative elements was eschewed in favor of a holistic approach based on broad interpretive principles. Tabulation was made of conclusive data derived from the single case considered individually and as a whole rather than tabulation of molecular scoring units abstracted from the entire series. The aim and scope of this study are, therefore, qualitative rather than quantitative, suggestive rather than definitive, and the conclusions are not intended as objectively demonstrated statements of fact.

The process of psychological development is traced through the three cross-sectional periods in some detail. Stories of prepuberal and puberal girls are centered in the home and in parent-child relations. Maternal characters occur much more frequently than father figures, but by late adolescence there is an increased interest in both fathers and siblings, while maternal dependence declines. Likewise with the older adolescents domestic preoccupations are superseded by an accelerated interest in heterosexual relationships and in increased identification with the maternal role. The conception of femininity is quite variable, and attitudes toward love and marriage range from the realistic-descriptive to the romantic-idealistic. Either because of reticence or unawakened interest, stories containing frankly sexual fea-

tures are conspicuously absent. A serious drive for worldly achievement is exceptional and is almost always subordinated to heterosexual interests. The fantasy productions of the two younger groups are characterized by violent melodrama involving death, crime, and bloodshed, which is largely missing from the narratives of the older girls. With more age and experience greater psychic differentiation is attained with more varied themes, greater attenuation of affect, and increased realism.

A wide disparity separates the older adolescent group from the girls near the menarche, who in every way are much less mature. No sudden change occurs from prepuberty to post-puberty; instead the psychological development is continuous and gradual. The differences between prepubescents and post-pubescents are slight and are largely confined to the psychosexual area. A systematic analysis controlling chronological age and physical status indicated that age with its social accompaniments is a more important determinant of increased psychosexual interest than the physiological processes associated with menstruation. The onset of menstruation is psychologically meaningful not so much in an absolute biological sense but only as it is related to cultural traditions, specific family settings, and the total functioning of the personality.

The personalities encountered at all levels of development were quite varied. There are no really typical prepuberals or puberals or late adolescents because of the extreme variability of reaction within each group. This diversity was increased by the heterogeneity of the subject population which included practically every economic level of metropolitan society. Different socio-economic classes or subcultural variations radically affected attitudes and personality development before and during adolescence. The amount of maladjustment, while constant over the three developmental periods, was correlated with economic background with the greatest emotional disturbance occurring among the under-privileged. The economically deprived also related stories that contained the most violence. Good intellectual and imaginative quality in the narrative productions was related to favorable economic status only among the younger girls; equalizing educational or selective factors erased this relationship among the older adolescents.

REFERENCES

1. ARON, B. *A method of analysis for the Thematic Apperception Test*. Berkeley, Calif.: Willis E. Berg, 1949.
2. BELL, J. E. *Projective techniques*. New York: Longmans Green, 1948.
3. COMBS, A. W. A method of analysis for the Thematic Apperception Test and autobiography. *J. clin. Psychol.*, 1946, 2, 167-174.

4. DIMOCK, H. S. *Rediscovering the adolescent*. New York: Association Press, 1937.
5. FARIS, R. E. L. and DUNHAM, W. *Mental disorders in urban areas*. Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press, 1939.
6. FATERSON, H. F. A study of the Minnesota scale for measuring inferiority attitudes. *J. soc. Psychol.*, 1930, 1, 463-493.
7. GARDNER, B. What makes successful and unsuccessful executives? *Advanced Management*, 1948, 13, 116-125.
8. HARRISON, R. Studies in the use and validity of the Thematic Apperception Test with mentally disordered patients. II. A quantitative validity study. *Character & Pers.*, 1940, 9, 122-138.
9. HARRISON, R. Studies in the use and validity of the Thematic Apperception Test with mentally disordered patients. III. Validation by the method of "blind analysis." *Character & Pers.*, 1940, 9, 134-138.
10. HARRISON, R. The Thematic Apperception and Rorschach methods of personality investigation in clinical practice. *J. Psychol.*, 1943, 15, 49-74.
11. HENRY, W. E. *The Thematic Apperception Test*. Chicago: Univ. Chicago Comm. Human Development, 1945. (Mimeographed.)
12. HENRY, W. E. The Thematic Apperception technique in the study of culture-personality relations. *Genet. Psychol. Monogr.*, 1947, 35, 3-135.
13. KIMMINS, C. W. Children's dreams. In C. A. Murchison (Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology*. Worcester, Mass.: Clark Univ. Press, 1933.
14. LOOMIS, S. D. and GREEN, A. W. The pattern of mental conflict in a typical state university. *J. abnorm. soc. Psychol.*, 1947, 42, 342-355.
15. MELTZER, H. Sex differences in parental preference patterns. *Character & Pers.*, 1941, 10, 114-128.
16. MORGAN, C. D. and MURRAY, H. A. A method for investigating phantasies: the Thematic Apperception Test. *Arch. Neurol. Psychiat.*, 1935, 34, 289-306.
17. MURRAY, H. A. *Manual for Thematic Apperception Test*. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1943.
18. MURRAY, H. A. and STEIN, M. Note on the selection of combat officers. *Psychosom. Med.*, 1943, 5, 386-391.
19. PIERCE, F. *Dreams and personality*. New York: Appleton, 1931.

20. RAPAPORT, D. *et al.* *Diagnostic psychological testing*. Vol. II. Chicago: Year Book Publishers, 1946.
21. ROTTER, J. B. Studies in the use and validity of the Thematic Apperception Test with mentally disordered patients. I. Method of analysis and clinical problems. *Character & Pers.*, 1940, 9, 18-34.
22. ROTTER, J. B. Thematic Apperception Tests: suggestions for administration and interpretation. *J. Person.*, 1946, 15, 70-92.
23. SANFORD, R. N. *The Thematic Apperception Test*. Cambridge: Harvard Psychol. Clinic, 1939. (Mimeographed.)
24. SANFORD, R. N. *et al.* Physique, personality and scholarship. *Monogr. Soc. Res. Child Develpm.*, 1943, 8, No. 1.
25. SLUTZ, M. The unique contributions of the Thematic Apperception Test to a developmental study. *Psychol. Bull.*, 1941, 38, 704 (abstract).
26. STAGNER, R. Economic status and personality. *Sch. & Soc.*, 1935, 42, 551-552.
27. SYMONDS, P. M. *Adolescent Phantasy*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1949.
28. TERMAN, L. M. *Psychological factors in marital happiness*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1938.
29. TOMKINS, S. S. *The Thematic Apperception Test*. New York: Grune & Stratton, 1947.
30. TRAVIESCO, J. and MARTINEZ-ARANGO, C. Some suggestions concerning the administration and interpretation of the T.A.T. *J. Psychol.*, 1946, 22, 117-163.

DRAWINGS OF THE HUMAN FIGURE

By KAREN MACHOVER

Growing from childhood to maturity involves a constant change of the structure and function of the body of the young girl, which bears heavily upon her consciousness. New roles are borrowed from those about her and others are woven by a fantasy excited by the compelling urgency and stress created by her changing body world. In its wake have come the extremes of restlessness, indecision, sudden enthusiasms, and just as sudden discouragements, that have earned for adolescence the label of "normal psychosis." It is because these reactions are so deeply rooted in body-self-consciousness, that a study of the body as projected on paper, and the girl's verbalized attitudes toward the body, was considered of value in an investigation of adolescents.

THE METHOD¹

Although there exists a vast body of literature on the subject of the projective significance of drawing and painting, specific study of the projection of the body with its infinitely subtle language, is relatively unfamiliar to the non-clinician. Publication concerning the technique has not kept up to the increasing verification and support which it has received in its application to clinical problems for more than twenty years. It is for that reason that it is considered desirable to guide the reader with somewhat more descriptive detail than seemed necessary with other methods. Discussion of the method will be limited to essentials.

Singling out the body as the basic focus for studying projection of the personality and developing a detailed system of interpretation of the body language was a phase of graphic projection for which the author is largely responsible. It is postulated that our reaction to our body and to experience, creates in each of us a unique postural model which constitutes our image of ourselves and is expressed in our motor and temperament dispositions. It is further assumed that, since self attitudes are deeply embedded in the body, it is particularly suited for communication about the self. The drawing of "a person" is roughly equated with projection of the self on the en-

¹ See Karen Machover (6).

vironment, which in this task is symbolized by the 8½" x 11" paper on which the drawing is placed. We have only to decode the communication to understand the confessional of the "person."

In unravelling the graphic message, many aspects of the drawing have been studied, empirically validated, and woven into a system of interpretative principles which cover the structural and content features. Size of the figure, pressure of line, quality of line, placement on the page, theme, stance, background, exactness, degree and area of completion and detailing, symmetry, mid-line emphasis, perspective, proportions, shading, reinforcement, and erasures comprise the structural phase of the drawing. Content analysis considers the postural tone of the figure, the facial expression, and all the individual parts of the body with its clothing and accessories. To determine the meaning of a particular drawing trait, careful case study, involving the personal history, test findings, and psychiatric opinion of all cases in which the trait occurred was made. This was followed for many years by numerous "blind" interpretations of human figure drawings which served to confirm, modify, or contradict the interpretations that were assigned.

In the same way that individuals in reality emphasize different parts of their body and show unique ways of expressing themselves, their drawings are highly differentiated. Are the organs stressed functionally related to growth, to balance, to movement, to vital centers of social awareness, or to contact with the environment? Interpretative significance of how and where the graphic energy is distributed may be divided into large categories which may then be subdivided into an infinite variety of detail. The head and the facial features are expressive of the sense of "self," one's social needs, and one's responsiveness. Graphic treatment of the head may give information about the subject's intellectual aspirations, his drive for rational control, or fantasy inflation of the self. Hair generally refers to sensual needs and perhaps indirectly to sexual vitality. The chest, width of shoulders, and elaboration of muscles reflect the subject's attitude toward physical power. In the female figure, the chest houses the major source and object of oral dependency, the breasts. In drawings of adolescent girls, we find attitudes toward sexual maturation reflected in the treatment of the breast area, the pelvis, conflict beneath the waistline, at the crotch of the male figure, and subtle disturbance about the hemline of the skirt due to uncertainty about how long to make it or how much to grow. Diffidence toward maturation may be projected by an underestimation of the sexual characteristics. The young prepuberal, rather than indicate breasts, will not infrequently reinforce the outer contours of that area to indicate conflict.

Efforts at control and integration of body impulses with rational considerations may be recorded by conflict in the neck area, since the neck connects the head with the body. Forced restraint of body impulses may be indicated by a tight waistline, a common feature in drawings of our group.

Other graphic devices of control may be seen in the tight stance, the encased or "mittened" fingers, or in the tidy restraint of a bow, barrette, or just a line to encase active hair excitement. The stance of the figure, the treatment of the legs and the feet may reveal the subject's attitude toward movement and activity, toward security of his footing, or toward sexual matters. Hands and fingers, organs basically involved in grasp, manipulation, and contact with objects, other people, and one's self, reveal the level of the subject's aspiration, his confidence, his aggressiveness, his efficiency, and often his guilt or conflict concerning interpersonal relationships. The length of arms, their robustness, the direction and vigor with which they extend from the body out toward the "environment" give additional evidence of the nature of the subject's contact.

In drawings as well as in real life, clothing represents a social facade, a superficial layer of the personality. Conflict expressed in the clothing surface is more conventional, less deep, and less primitive. Of the 600 drawings obtained from our 300 girls, there were no nudes. Apparently adolescents are too dependent to express the sophistication and individualization suggested by nudes. This is particularly significant, since this growth phase fixes concentration upon the body, and since many of our subjects were artistically skilled. Hats denote social presentability drives, and may, in certain contexts, have phallic symbol value. Ties, which realistically constitute the main adornment of male attire, are interpreted as symbols of sexual adequacy translated in clothing and social terms. When given to the male figure drawn by a girl, it indicates sexual interest. Buttons and pockets, in addition to buckles, are graphic features of dependency. Pockets may also be associated with material and/or affectional deprivation, and in specific contexts may indicate masturbatory preoccupation.

Bilateral symmetry, when stressed to the point of producing an effect of rigidity, signifies an obsessive-compulsive system of emotional control which may express itself in repression and over-intellectualization. Mid-line emphasis on a figure denotes body preoccupation often related to feelings of physical illness. Conflict centers on the drawings may be expressed by any treatment that is different from the rest of the drawing. Thus, one may omit, leave incomplete, suddenly change the graphic style or line, make disproportionate, twist in perspective, make transparent, reinforce, erase, or shade a part. Each of these techniques of conflict projection varies in psychological significance. Reinforcements, erasures, and shadings (particularly if the shading is patterned) are least pathological. The posture, muscular tensions, and facial expression bind all the details of a figure and set its emotional tone.

The size of the figure contains clues about the subject's realistic self-esteem, his characteristic self-expansiveness, or his fantasy self-inflation. The perspective gives us some idea about what side of himself a person

wishes to show. Profile views are more characteristically male and are interpreted as evasion. The front view, most often given by the female, derives from any or all of the following factors: naivete, frankness, social communication, dependency, or exhibitionism. Line is examined for its pressure, thickness, ease of flow, its constancy, direction, and length of stroke. Comparison of the male and female figure reveals the subject's attitudes toward the opposite sex, toward parental, and, indirectly, toward authority figures in general. Drawing the self-sex first is one item of identification with one's own sex role.

PROCEDURE

In addition to obtaining two figures from each subject, one male and one female, associations to these figures were secured as verbal supplementation to the drawings. The test was administered to groups in situations similar to those involved in the administration of the other methods used in this study. Two sheets of 8½" x 11" paper were given to each of the subjects with a medium-soft pencil which had an eraser. The groups varied in size, and effort was made to arrange seating so that "conferencing" was minimal. Interest and motivation were aroused by structuring the task as an objective experiment designed to understand the normal girl of the subjects' age group. It was stressed that skill in drawing was irrelevant, since the primary concern of the study was what people do when they *try* to draw a person. They were reminded that two complete drawings were expected from them, one of a male and one of a female. They were to mark which they did first. Before the completion of the second drawing, the group was interrupted briefly for instructions for the balance of the test, the associations. Directions were conveyed in illustration and pantomime. They were told to "make up a story about this figure as if he (or she) were a character in a play or a novel." Specific questions to guide the sketch were mimeographed on one side of the sheets given them. These questions covered the age, marital status, family, work, schooling, ambition, attitudes toward the body, emotional reactions, bad habits, good traits, sociability, attitudes toward the family, school, and the opposite sex of the figure, age the figure will marry, type he (or she) will marry, main wishes, of whom the subject is reminded, whether she would like to be like the figure, and space for any additional remarks she wished to add. The group was further asked to check any of the items in both character sketches which might pertain to themselves as well as to the figures. Both the drawings and the associations to the two figures did not consume more than 50 minutes. All questions about how or what to draw were answered with a non-committal "just as you please," except for the reminder that a full figure was expected and not only a head.

Some sacrifice of observation of procedure of drawing, of behavior, and of comments while working is necessarily made in group administration, but these did not constitute the handicap to interpretation that was anticipated. Ease with which the task was accepted varied. If, after reassurance, reluctance to drawing the figures is maintained, one may correctly assume that the subject fears to meet the problems involved in the projection of the "self." No persistent refusals were encountered. Difficulties in drawing hands and feet are common to the population at large, being expressive of conflict surrounding problems of security, extension into the environment, assertiveness, and confidence—problems that are common concerns in a society which confuses its members with contradictory and competitive stimulations. These difficulties were no less frequent in our groups. Erasures, the graphic correlate of restlessness, were profuse.

AREAS OF INQUIRY

Analysis of the different maturity levels which follows and also of the individual illustrative cases will integrate the graphic traits of the drawings with the verbal character portrayals. Independent summaries of the drawings were coordinated with independent summaries of the verbal associations to arrive at a comprehensive personality picture of each of our subjects. This method assured independence of sources of judgment and provided opportunity for corroboration of traits from the graphic to the more conscious forms of verbal projection. The personality studies were made with no information about the girl except her age, family constellation, outstanding illnesses, and national origin.

While the personality of the individual girl was preserved as a unit, tabulation of numerous graphic traits as well as items contained in the verbal portrait sketches attached to each of the 600 drawings was made the basis for investigation of syndromes of traits and solutions typical of the different maturity groups. The extent to which self-projection occurred was repeatedly brought into focus by the verification offered by case conferences with the clinicians using the other methods employed in this study. Agreement in final "adjustment" ratings assigned to each subject was extremely gratifying. Associations to the figures, viewed as thematic elaboration of neutral figures upon which the subject may bestow her virtues or heap her rejected traits, are, in themselves, excellent vehicles for indirect confessional, particularly in instances where the subject is unwilling to discuss her problems directly. The group of guide questions proved to be sufficiently ambiguous to invite self-projection, and yet sufficiently directing to elicit consistently the desired information, even in a public school set-up.

The data could not be organized fruitfully on the basis of maturity levels which were distinct and independent from each other. We found, in confir-

mation of the literature on adolescence, that growth into maturity is marked by overlapping, and that few traits are the exclusive property of one developmental group. We know that all adults, to varying and individual degrees, retain prepuberal, puberal, and adolescent traits. Perhaps if we were able to follow the same girl from prepuberty, through puberty, into adolescence, growth traits would show more stabilization. In our data relatively few traits withstood modification by breakdown into individual school and socio-economic groups. Nevertheless, sufficiently impressive trends did emerge to warrant separate consideration of the three developmental levels. The text that follows will also classify on the basis of socio-economic factors and the character of individual school groups in addition to puberal status. Graphic and verbal traits tabulated for each drawing were arranged in thirteen categories. Selection of these categories was determined by the distribution of the data, their pertinence to the problem of adolescent growth, and their comprehensiveness of coverage of the personalities of these girls. A detailed percentage table representing each significant graphic and verbal item and organized according to maturity level and individual schools is provided at the end of this chapter for those who are interested in the specific items that comprise the category.

The following categories, alphabetically arranged for convenience, were considered:

1. Activity (type and degree of), energy level.
2. Aggressive and self-assertive components in the personality, surface or underlying.
3. Body tensions, egocentric preoccupation, regressions, guilt, or oversensitivity to social opinion.
4. Control elements in the personality (degree and nature of).
5. Ego-models, identifications projected.
6. Exhibitionism, display, and glamour trends.
7. Family attitudes.
8. Goals, attitude toward the future, toward school, toward career, marriage, and children.
9. Narcissism, increase in self-esteem and confidence.
10. Outgoing qualities, dependence, need for acceptance, attitude toward friends, going out as a good time.
11. Security feelings, sense of physical sturdiness, of health.
12. Sex characteristics (acceptance of), degree and type of boy-interest, attitude toward marriage.
13. Sexual differentiation between male and female figures as an element of maturity, referred to most traits under consideration.

COMMENTS CONCERNING ALL OF THE GROUPS

Before proceeding with discussion of these wide and embracing categories as they refer to the individual growth phases, some remarks concerning all of the groups studied will be made to help orient the reader. None of the school groups is represented in all of the three maturity levels. Even if a school group were to span prepuberty to puberty, the numbers in each group varied. Thus, longitudinal patterns for individual school groups could not be investigated. Despite the irregularity of sampling, sufficient cohesiveness of a particular school group was found to merit unit consideration of that group in analysis of growth trends. Furthermore, although the exact schools of the preadolescent groups did not extend into adolescent sampling, particular schools of the adolescent level tended to be strikingly similar to particular preadolescent school groups.

This alliance did not always follow the line of socio-economic likeness. Relatively few traits were consistently affected by socio-economic factors throughout the three levels. Not infrequently an item would favor the lower socio-economic brackets in preadolescence, and be reversed in adolescence. To some extent, therefore, it seems that deprivation and poverty are viewed differently at different stages of maturity. Maturity may be expected to alter or even reverse sensitivities to particular pressures. Reactions to a specific problem may not only be affected by socio-economic factors, but also by the emotional and intellectual equipment of the subject. Thus, although the preadolescents of Susan B. Anthony Junior High School were only slightly more privileged economically than the Universal Grammar School girls, these schools often displayed opposite trends because of the greater maturity in intellect and emotional development that marked the Junior High School group.

At the other extreme of the socio-economic scale, similar divergences occurred between the Urban Elementary School and the Meadowlane prepuberals. In that instance we were dealing with differences in age and sophistication. Among the adolescents the Knickerbocker High School and the Diana College group, both of the lower socio-economic strata, diverged in many of the personality traits, partly on the basis of an age difference and probably more on the basis of differences in emotional and intellectual equipment. In some traits the Susan B. Anthony preadolescent lined up with the Knickerbocker adolescent. They are both of similar emotional, intellectual, and socio-economic resources. Similarly, the well-equipped Meadowlane preadolescent tended to coordinate with the equally privileged adolescent of Elizabeth Browning College. On the other hand, our intellectually and economically least endowed Universal Grammar School girls found common ground in some traits with the Keats Junior College adolescents who are at the extreme opposite. The Urban girls form a distinct

and separate group. They are the youngest, least sophisticated, and show a concentration of immaturity items in the psychosexual sphere.

It has already been suggested that the trends which may be isolated as referable to the issue of puberal status are modified by the circumstances in which growth takes place. Questions such as these occur: Is the environment strongly competitive or driving in its standards, at school, at home, or in both places? Further, is the parental milieu conducive to clear differentiation and formulation of the adult sexual role, or do the male and female model tend to fuse in major characteristics? Then again, does the acceptance of the female role imply submission, defeat, or humiliation, or is it welcomed as a privilege of the independent personality? These, and many more questions are given different answers by the different schools even more than by the different developmental groups.

Cultural definitions of femininity vary, offering shifting ego-patterns and identifications into which the maturing girl must fit. In her study of sex and culture, Seward (11) called attention to the fact that in our culture boys are considered the stronger and more dominant sex by both boys and girls. It follows, therefore, that in our culture acceptance of biologically defined femininity may constitute a threat to the girl with a strong ego-drive, since it fails to coordinate with opportunities for full expression and expansion of a growing female personality. Blocked in the satisfaction of these ego-drives, the intelligent and sensitive girl may, in our culture, be thrown into more confusion of sexual identifications and more fearful construction of adult responsibilities than would be the case in a cultural setting which did not restrict self-development and fulfillment to males.

In her fight for ego status, the puberal girl may find a compromise or solution by withdrawing to childhood. She may, on the other hand, play around with the notion of being a boy. Her wish to be a boy cannot be regarded in the same light as the masculine protest in the adult female, but rather a phase of casting about for security, status, and acceptance. The temptation for masculine self-expression becomes intensified if the home deprecates the female and if a brother is preferred in the family setting. Another source of temptation to be a boy arises from inferiority and discouragement about good looks. Standards of glamour perfection are set perilously high. Prospects for competition as a female are threatening and increase the sexual wavering. A boy does not need to be good looking.

In analyzing the specific drawing and verbal features of the drawings, it was found that, generally speaking, progress toward maturity proceeded steadily from prepuberty, through puberty, to adolescence, while immaturity features tended to diminish with age. It was further noted that when a particular trait signified maturity, it would tend to continue into adolescence, but when a trait denoting excessive tension, sensitivity, or increase in conflict rose sharply at puberty, it usually receded at adolescence. Degree

of sexual differentiation which bears upon acceptance or rejection of the male figure rose steadily with maturity. A preponderance of negative traits, hostile and antagonistic attitudes heaped upon the male figure in prepuberty, were reduced in the direction of increasing warmth and positive consideration of the male as maturity progressed. Those who give the male a "break" and liked men, can anticipate union with a man more optimistically.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS—ALL GROUPS

About one-third of all of the girls studied drew the opposite sex figure, the male, first, indicating a considerably greater degree of sexual wavering of identifications than is found in a more mature population. This trait is evenly divided among all groups. The self-sex is dressed much better, particularly in the prepuberal period. The female figure bears the weight of more conflict expression than the male. It is the female that likes school better. Intelligence as an attributed trait is more specifically assigned to the male or female than other traits, which show more casual distribution. The male is always described as healthier. He is generally more devoted to a "quiet" good time than the female, but positive expectation for marriage favors the female throughout. It is more natural for men to remain unwed.

Indication of movement or *activity* in either graphic or verbal theme occurs in about one-third of the records while relatively infrequent in adult drawings. Considering that we are dealing with a role-taking phase of development, it is rather surprising that very few of our girls refer to "movies" as a good time. The deeper sources for identification exist in the more commonplace environment of parents, family, school, and friends. Most of our girls assign an age to the depicted character older than themselves, which is testimony to their forward growth interests. This age range also concentrates on glamour more than is common for adult women. Exhibitionistic interests do not diminish with the maturity levels, although they may vary in form of expression. Prepuberal dreams about becoming an actress or singer are replaced frequently at adolescence by a modelling career.

The vacillating state of the social personality of our girls is reflected in the greater difficulty in drawing the head which, graphically, is the signature of the "self." As a rule, these groups exhibit responsibility for performance even in the face of defect or conflict. Few of them omit or obliterate with erasures, but rather they assertively reinforce or might even dim out of timidity. Conflict in drawing the arms and legs, organs basic to growth and maturity, though common in the general population, is most pronounced in the developmental stages covered in this study. Health confidence is evenly distributed through the groups in terms of "average or better." Although body preoccupation is considerable, we find that social amenities are observed, and unlike an adult population, no nudes are drawn.

The growing girl is too body conscious and does not have the brashness to draw nudes. Sexual curiosity, mostly of a covert character, such as lines, pleats, or transparencies of the skirt is actively represented in these groups. The relative immaturity of our girls in boy contact is partially reflected in the low incidence of ties (a phallic symbol) on the male figure. Hats, as a symbol of social presentability, receive scant attention. Figure appeal is more important than covering up with lots of clothing. Hair, a symbol of sensuality, is in the forefront of body interest. Dependency needs are strong and popularity is enormously important.

Summary of Findings—Prepuberty

1. *Activity trends.* The younger prepuberals, the Urban girls, constitute a separate group in themselves in regard to many traits. They make most frequent reference to athletic activity, which they associate with the male figure. This tomboyish physical thrust into the environment which appears at the threshold of puberal sexual differentiation competes with daydreaming glamour projections, which are in direct contrast to athletic, boyish activity. The ego-theme which rises out of their daydreams is the direct expression of narcissistic display needs, and depiction of dancers, skaters, and singers satisfies needs for exhibitionist command of the environment rather than work-career interests.

The slightly older more imminently puberal girls of this group, to which the Meadowlane, Universal, and Susan B. Anthony schools contribute, give characteristic anticipatory themes. Their characters are often described as "about to," "waiting for," or "crossing the street," specifying the transitional nature of the activity. A need for social communication and dependence upon environment are implicit in the "talking" theme frequent in their portrayals. Despite the many glamour models of the younger group, "going to movies" is seldom given as a good time.

2. *Aggressive and self-assertive trends.* A relatively less inhibited flow of impulses is suggested by the occasional absence of the neck and weakness of elaborative defense systems involved in increased symmetry, determined chins, or other compulsive controls. Self assertion appears more as a matter of weaker controls than of a reactive nature. The male receives most of the wide defiant stance, the freedom, relaxation, and absence of restraint. Although the male is made smaller than the female figure and is given effeminate graphic features, he is fancied as having privileges of self-assertion which are denied the female.

3. *Body tensions, egocentricity, regression, guilt, oversensitivity.* Although these factors are present in this period, they do not approach the emphasis they receive in puberty. There is evidence of sound object interest in this period. Arms that come out and back, regarded as an index of egocentricity,

are least recorded. Intellectual achievement is a matter for grave preoccupation at this time. Although most of our prepuberals are particularly bright, we find the greatest amount of "less than average smart" descriptions of the characters. Reinforcement of facial features reaffirms the need for social communication and interchange with the environment. The characters described by this group are given younger friends, and most frequently identified as five to ten years of age, suggesting hesitancy about growing up. Expressions on the faces of the figures are the least hostile for both groups, and when hostility is projected, it is generally connected with the male figure, reflecting a stern father figure, since it occurs in combination with a parent-age.

4. *Control elements.* Defenses and controls are as yet weakly developed. Inability to control temper is most frequently recorded. Control is accomplished by a crude sectioning off of the figure, particularly by the use of a marked waistline to cut off the "below." If long necks appear to indicate the separation of rational and impulsive areas of the body, they are given to the male as the regulating agent in the family unit.

5. *Ego-models.* The highest percentage of married figures of parent-age are given by this group, underscoring the strength of family bonds.

6. *Exhibitionism, display, and glamour trends.* This sphere of interest is quite pronounced with the younger, daydreaming group of Urban girls. We see the highest percentage of long, sinuous legs and posing position of arms. Entertainment is given most commonly as a career, and the face is most frequently referred to as the best part of the body, indicating strong social dependency and a bid for approval.

7. *Family attitudes.* These are most positive and most active in this period. "Being at home" as a good time, being a "nice family person" as a good trait, and worry about the family register highest in this group. Losing temper at the family presents the less pleasant aspect of this family attachment, and may be a precursor of a loosening of bonds.

8. *Goals.* Although a large part of the group have professional parents, the prepuberal gives the smallest percentage of professional ambitions. This is particularly significant in view of the stress that is placed on education in both the home and the school. Uncertainty as to marriage and negative prospects are most abundant in this group. When marriage is contemplated, the young age of 19 to 22 is preferred. Both painful contemplation of marriage and young marriages suggest a distant and not too realistic approach to the subject.

9. *Narcissism, self-esteem, and confidence.* The type of narcissism under consideration is not identical with exhibitionistic display (of which the prepuberal has her share) but rather of internalized differentiation of the self such as is seen in adolescence. It is more closely identified with self-esteem

and receives little emphasis in this group. Perhaps the fact that the male is given an inferior graphic portrayal to the dominant and central female could be considered some form of narcissism, but the large female is usually mother-identified. Integration of self-confidence is weak. Subtle defenses are minimal. Frank acknowledgement that the figure drawn is a self-projection is most frequent in this group.

10. *Outgoing and dependency qualities.* Consistent with her relative level of immaturity, the prepuberal girl stands out in these areas. Arms extend out seeking contact, the expression of the face is one of looking for approval, and eyes are often large, curious, and cosmetized. It is a crucial period for seeing, exploring, and experimenting with physical attractiveness. Dependency of a childish oral character is seen in the relatively large percentage of concave mouths, interest in the buckle (navel area), and the forced arc of a mouth that reflects need for obedience and amiable placation of authority. The expressed need to marry a "nice" person is in line with emphasis on dependency and support.

11. *Security and feelings of sturdiness.* Graphic evidence suggests that feelings of security and sturdiness are weaker than the family protectiveness and the energetic activity trends in the prepuberal would warrant. Activity in this period may be motivated more by the drive to compete with boys, as a phase of the struggle for role identification, than by feelings of strength. Legs are rather weak and scrawny, or they are stylized in elegant glamour effects. Use of background or a scene which reflects need for environmental support is most common in this group.

12. *Sex characteristics and boy interest.* The prepuberal gives least notice to these factors. We find the lateral outer walls of the chest reinforced with some furtive shyness in bringing attention to this area of bosom growth, and the hip lines are reinforced with equally irritable reaction to that area of sexual development. These conflict areas are not fluently integrated in clothing or esthetic effects of feminine appeal, giving graphic evidence of the prepuberal's uneasiness about her developing body. Reinforcement of the crotch of the male figure tells of some repressed boy interest, but it is generally irritable and indirect in its expression. The associations to the figures reveal the least percentage of going out with boys.

13. *Sexual differentiation.* The difference between the male and female figures concerning graphic and verbal traits is the major source of information about the subject's attitude toward both sex roles. In all respects the prepuberal favors the female figure, although in her activity she may experiment with emulation of the boy. Self concentration is intensified, and mother identifications are as yet not transferred to other females in the environment. The male is not seen in as positive and tangible a light as in the later phases. The figures represents more the "I" and the "not I." Thus,

the female is better clothed than the male in a 5:1 ratio, as against a 2:1 ratio in adolescence. Favorable estimates of the female's intelligence, good looks, interest in school, in family, and in siblings, going out more often than the male, expecting to marry more frequently, and even being happier than the male give the female a much greater advantage than appears in the more mature phases of growth.

With progress in maturity, the girl is less hard on the male and tends to use him less as a whipping post for her own guilt and rejected traits. Although in many respects a weaker and less interesting character to the prepuberal, the male is often depicted as embodying all of the relaxation and self-assertive traits about which the girl feels constrained. He is given more physical vitality in terms of the broader shoulders, the wider stance, and the more hostile facial expression, while the girl is more restricted. The prepuberal, in her floundering, uses the male figure as an acknowledged self-model as often as she does the female character. The sexes represent to her two ways of growing into adulthood. The male, although deprecated in the more virtuous traits, is described as popular and well liked as often as the girl. Since he is more free, he is accorded a good social personality. On the other hand, and despite his fancied freedom, the male is given a quiet good time ten times as often as the restless female. The many contradictions only serve to underscore the ambivalence of the prepuberal girl.

Puberty

1. *Activity trends.* These are least characteristic of this period of intensified physiological tension, when attention is focussed on the body more than ever. Eighty-two per cent of the puberals give inactive graphic and verbal themes. Mild interest in athletic activity is expressed, but it is superseded by body self-consciousness which predominates in this period.

2. *Aggressive and assertive trends.* Some evidence for increase of defiance is seen in the larger percentage of wide stance for the female, but in all other items pertaining to self-assertion, the puberal recedes, while graphic and verbal items relating to body tensions take over.

3. *Body tensions, egocentricity, regression, guilt, and oversensitivity.* It is this syndrome that flowers during puberty, and for that reason these traits grouped themselves naturally. Self-consciousness, as reflected in left placement on the page, records a substantial rise at puberty. The greatest percentage of tense stance is noted for both male and female figures. Clothing detail, which is indicative of interest in social and external appearances, decreases, while emphasis on legs with its implication of security and sex consciousness is greatest. The fear to extend into the environment, suggested by the arms close to the body, receives most emphasis in this phase. Easy

discouragement is seen in the shorter arm. The arms, basic contact organs, are also most severely conflicted. The greatest percentage of arms that go out toward the environment and come back to the body in egocentric mooring is seen at this time. The hiding of guilty hands, most pronounced at puberty, coordinates with other evidence of increased masturbation.

Defenses are weakened, and identification with the projected figure is most frequently acknowledged. There is no shifting from the self. An increase in oral dependence with much mouth conflict, a regressive feature, adds to the picture of helplessness. Fewest ears are seen, suggesting that the usual sensitivity to the world, involving active relatedness toward the environment, is blocked by body preoccupation. To add to the impression of the desperateness of the struggle at this time, the face, the major social area, is most frequently mentioned as the worst part, "nothing" is good about the body, and "everything" is bad about the body. Discouragement about proper equipment with which to face adulthood is at a peak.

4. *Control elements.* These are moderate and superficial. Stress on the value of being "clean, polite, and decent" and oversensitivity about attributing bad traits to the characters suggest a sense of guilt and unworthiness. Generally, there is some progress in control features with maturity, but at puberty it is put aside for preoccupations that are less socially implicated than controls and more concerned with pressure of body impulses. The wide range of permissiveness and regulation in the culturally divergent homes from which our sampling was drawn, affects the extent to which control features are represented in any period of development. Control efforts are particularly concentrated in the low socio-economic groups, where the task of growing up is traditionally more invested with responsibilities and controls.

5. *Ego-models and identification.* In contrast to the parent-age models found frequently in the prepuberal, the puberal favors "same age" identifications of the figures drawn. The most wholesome identifications generally involve age models that are older than the subject, particularly in preadolescence. The "same age" fixation may thus be regarded as indicative of an acute egocentric preoccupation which temporarily is inhibiting the growth process. More than with other phases of the personality discussed, considerable school and socio-economic differences are seen in the process of identification, and these will be discussed in detail in the sections pertaining to school and socio-economic levels.

Ego-models in terms of a career revolve mostly around the trade, clerical, and business occupations, as contrasted with the entertainment careers of the prepuberal, and the professional interests of the adolescents. Growing up is thus viewed in more practical and less aspiring terms. Being pretty is a most important trait. The accent on the mouth mentioned previously for

this age group is given cosmetic flavoring, with largest incidence of cupid-bow mouths.

6. *Exhibitionism, display, and glamour trends.* Although clothing interests, display themes, and the need to be pretty received equal emphasis to that seen in the drawings of the prepuberal, an element of desperateness could be detected, in line with the compensatory and frenzied nature of the puberal's assertions of interest in boys. No longer did costumes of dreamy skaters and dancers appear. Clothing was more realistically oriented. More evening gowns and cupid bow mouths appeared as did movie idols as models. This was particularly prominent in the lower socio-economic group of relatively dull intelligence, the girls of the Universal Grammar School.

7. *Family attitudes.* The puberal girl, both in her drawings and her verbal portrayals, is weakening in her family interests. A more crystallized and consistent attitude of rebellion now replaces the furtive ambivalence and temper outbursts of the prepuberal's relation toward her family. Body absorption is primary, with some reaching out for support to fellow sufferers rather than to parents. There is a greater feeling of vulnerability and loss of temper "when teased." Less worry about the family is expressed by the puberal, and interest in children has lost the stimulation of duplicating the parent-child relationship in which she is involved. Perhaps one might see the prepuberal as interested in solving or copying the parent-child relationship, the puberal as exclusively interested in her body processes and worth, and the adolescent establishing herself as a social personality participating in contemporary relationships. In this context the question of the suitability of the acute puberal's qualification for baby-sitting, for which she is frequently used, may be raised.

8. *Goals.* Goal differentiation is most characterized by conflict at this stage. Paradoxically, although there is the greatest amount of discouragement evident, ambition takes a spurt. The long arm is given to the female more than to the male, and interest in clerical work peaks. Social values center around the need to be accepted. This is particularly acute in this stage of confusion and inferiority feelings. Interest in athletic or other skills recedes, and these are mentioned least. It is this period in which the most frequent "don't go to school" occurs in the records. Marriage is, as yet, not a specifically favored goal, although having children and a family, which may be considered a bridge between family ties and the distinct formulation of marriage, are favored main wishes.

9. *Narcissism, self-esteem, and confidence.* Due to the acuteness of conflict in puberty, these traits suffer a set-back rather than advance with maturity. School variations modify this observation. Active defenses are recorded, but they are not constructive. They consist largely of withdrawal and denial of unpleasant pressures, which tend to hamper the efficiency of

the puberal. The puberal girl, more than the others in the study, may deny bad habits and be more evasive. She is more sensitive to existing conflict, and tends to be less naive and daydreaming than the prepuberal girl.

10. *Outgoing and dependency qualities.* It is expected that with the increase in sensitivity, these items would recede in contrast to the dominance of them in the prepuberal picture. The need to be accepted, understood, to have people be kind and helpful to them receives emphasis in the traits recorded. There is, however, no harmonious or acceptable dependency. In this context the increase in amiable facial expressions refers more to placation of the environment rather than sociability or happiness. The childish concave mouth treatment, noted for the prepuberals, appears much less frequently. The type of dependence that the puberal girl projects is more in the nature of a cry for tolerance and need for relief from tension. She probably cannot accept diversion into activity and objective efficiency in the manner of the prepuberal.

11. *Security and feelings of sturdiness.* These are particularly shaken at this period, although a large measure of turbulence characterizes the whole length of the age range studied. Erasures, signifying restless dissatisfaction, and omission of feet to stand upon are most frequent. Background, which pertains more to environmental support, is least used, since it is the need to set their own house in order that is urgent rather than direct relationships to the environment. Environmental stimulation is thus at its minimal level at puberty, and motivation is difficult and often impossible to achieve.

12. *Sex characteristics and boy interest.* Although curiosity about and participation in the environment are generally curtailed during puberty, representation of sex characteristics and indications of interest in boys show an increase commensurate with maturation. The frequency of going out with boys and considering being with boys a good time show an increase over prepuberty that suggests the urgency of a frenzy. Discouragement, reflected in the relatively high percentage of "just goes out with husband," accompanies this increased spurt of interest in boys.

Sex characteristics and symbols receive more emphasis, particularly those referring to the sensual and pregenital sexuality that is involved in hair concentration. Thus, 86 per cent of the puberals express conflict about hair area, and give "playing with her hair" as an outstanding trait of nervousness. Sensual, overrouged, or cupid-bow mouth treatment peak at this period, while the more direct phallic symbol of a strong nose receives least attention. The male figure does, however, get a tie more frequently. Acceptance of breast development advances to specific conflict in that area, rather than the absence of, or indirect reinforcement of the lateral chest walls that characterizes the prepuberal drawings.

13. *Sexual differentiation.* The difference between the male and female figures in all traits considered is most pronounced at this stage due to the sharpening of the struggle for definition of sexual role by body pressures. The puberal girl is weighing the advantages of being a boy or a girl more actively, and expresses greater rivalry with boys in terms of maturity. The prepuberal girl tended to glorify the female and subordinate the male, or at least accorded him casual treatment. The puberal balances her attention to the sexes more realistically. She accepts more negative qualities for the female, and gives the male a more independent existence. In fact, the greater interest in the male, coupled with an increase in inferiority and body tension experienced by the puberal girl, throws the preponderance of positive traits to the male. This reduction in self-esteem seems not only to be temporary, as will be seen in discussion of the adolescent phase, but carries with it determination to gird for the fight. Thus, the wide stance that was given mainly to the male by the prepuberal is now assumed much more by the female. The puberal not only increases in this defiance, but shows a two to one advantage in long arms for a female, suggesting drive for ambitious extension. Verbally, in the character portrayals, this ambition is assigned to the male.

Competition in regard to physical strength, as expressed in broad shoulders, has now receded from the prepuberal level, since physical activity has diminished. On the more conscious level, the girl concedes many advantages to the male. He is now smarter, healthier, and goes out more than the female. Graphically, the male receives a heavier line of assertiveness and a higher percentage of vain or amiable facial expressions. In contrast, the female is now burdened with more conflict, more nervousness, and more worry in both the facial expressions and verbal descriptions of the figure. The female does not even hold the prepuberal advantage in liking school. Struggle for friends and popularity is now most rivalrous with the male, with an equal division of social participation and need for people to say nice things about the female rising.

In this increase in sharing and distributing traits with greater differentiation between the sexes, the male is no more often relegated to a quieter good time than the female. Although the intensification of the struggle for sexual differentiation has increased at puberty, and has gained more realistic estimations of the female, somewhat to her disadvantage, the female figure is selected as the acknowledged ego-model ("would you like to be like her?") six to one as contrasted with the equal division of identifications between the male and female figures in prepuberty. In other words, with all of the added self-criticism, acceptance of the female is ultimately greater, thus indicating progress in maturity. This does not mean that wavering in sexual identifications has ceased, but the advantage accrues to the female.

Adolescence

1. *Activity trends.* After having suffered curtailment of activity trends in the puberal period, when body expressiveness and mobility were reduced, the adolescent now resumes the normal pace in this phase of personality projection. Going to movies as a good time is mentioned even less frequently than in preadolescence, when, as already mentioned, it received surprisingly little notice. "Thinking" is now favored in a significant percentage of the girls. This is consistent with the rise in intellectualization, self-reflection, and romanticism in the adolescent that is noted in other contexts. Anticipatory themes involving "about to" do something, continue their decrease from their high position in prepuberty. While the majority of the puberal girls gave inactive themes, the balance between active and inactive themes now resumes its prepuberal ratio.

2. *Aggressive and assertive trends.* Heavy pressure of line and wide stance now recover from the puberal recession. Contrary to the prepuberal, however, who gave this assertiveness to the male figure, responsibility for assertiveness and aggression is shifted to the female figure in adolescence, thereby marking an advance in self-awareness and maturity. Whereas, in the puberal, an increase in the defiant and assertive wide stance appeared to be a reaction to body tensions—a sort of fighting back, in the adolescent it is associated with features suggesting a social direction. Thin, set mouths and emphatic chins increase as do long fingers with which to contact. Nor is this aggression as raw and irritable in its expression as it is in puberty, but is combined with an increase in purposefulness, control, and sublimation as will be revealed in later discussion. The change in the nature of aggressive reactions in the adolescent may be exemplified by the marked reduction in the childish nostril emphasis and the greater frequency with which loss of temper is associated with social or personal injustice rather than just teasing. With the added pressures of social responsibility as an adult, defenses as expressed in more symmetry control are observed.

3. *Body tensions, egocentricity, regression, guilt, and oversensitivity.* This syndrome has overcome the puberal peak. Less evidence of physical restlessness and dissatisfaction, as reflected in erasures and shading, and more poise are manifested in the adolescent drawings. The stance of the figures is less tense and precarious, fewer hands are hidden in pockets or frozen at the genital area, indicating less insecurity and masturbatory guilt. A general relaxation of body tensions is observed. The increase in self-confidence and heightened self-esteem are reflected in the larger size of the drawings. More interest, observation, and social efficiency, indicated in the greater detailing of the drawings, are consistent with the widening social horizon of the adolescent.

Although good looks and the adequacy of the figure is still a matter of active concern, greater confidence in these areas is suggested by the diminishing emphasis on them. Contrary to the puberal group, who are extremely body conscious, the adolescent seldom gives the face or the figure as the worst part of the body. Gaiety, charm, personality, and cheerfulness now appear as important traits, with the increase in socialization on a more mature level. The short arm, indicative of discouragement or lack of ambition, appears least often in this group. Concern centers around the strain of control, made more urgent by expanding interests, and conflict around the neckline increases.

The gain in spirit, confidence, and socialization is not accomplished without a price. We find no increase in happiness or decrease of worry in the character descriptions of the adolescents. Replacing the erasures and shading emphasis, denoting body restlessness, is a greater disturbance of line which is graphically expressive of mood fluctuation. With the greater extension into the social environment, sensitivity about being talked about has increased, and the figures have more ears with which to listen. More bad things are said about the characters depicted. The problem of reputation is now substituted for the preadolescent contact with the environment on the basis of sheer need for approval and kindness.

4. *Control elements.* These are, in the light of all that has been said about the adolescent girl, much increased. The long neck, which in prepuberty was given to the stern and demanding father-figure and at puberty assumed by the female, retains the puberal rise and imposition on the self-sex. It has now shifted more decisively to the female figure, signaling her independent control responsibility. Neckline control, which because it is connected with clothing suggests socialized control and relates to problems of modesty and repression of exhibitionistic drives, is increased at adolescence. Maturity is further confirmed by the substitution of such virtues as honesty and conscientiousness for the politeness and repression of bad traits stressed by the prepuberal.

5. *Ego-models and identifications.* The characters portrayed by the adolescent are represented by the wholesome and realistic age span of 17 to 25 years more often than in preadolescence. Less tendency to regress to childhood models or parent-age identifications is noted. Occupationally, professions are stressed. This may be partially due to our sampling of late high school and college girls among our adolescents.

6. *Exhibitionism, display, and glamour trends.* In adolescence, we see the reappearance of these phases of the personality after a recession at puberty. These trends are now more realistic in nature, and less the daydreaming products of the prepuberal. The display theme is now cast in either posing or modelling rather than career ambitions of being a great public

figure or entertainer. Interest in exhibiting the body for audience approval is reduced, with the largest percentage of the reserved profile treatment recorded. This may be attributed to greater control. Clothing elaboration falls sharply in favor of a more internalized narcissism as expressed in an increase in romanticism, self-analysis, and independence of ideas. Being admired for pretty clothes appears to be less important than being respected as an independent individual. The internal conflict has now been reduced by the position of greater maturity. The fear of anticipated threat of adulthood seen in the prepuberal, and the discomfort of body pressures of the puberal have now been replaced in the adolescent by conflict concerning ideas, a search for a philosophy of life. Literature has popularized the adolescent's experimentation with ideas.

7. *Family attitudes.* Loosening of family ties advances with the increase in interest in the social and contemporary environment. The attachment to the family of the prepuberal and the defiance of puberty have been outgrown. In adolescence we find the highest percentage of "below average" liking of the family.

8. *Goals.* The increase in maturity of goals is reflected in various ways. Tendencies toward reflectiveness have replaced the prepuberal interest in athletic skills. Expression of attitude toward school now combines the prepuberal emphasis of liking school with the puberal dislike of school in a more realistic and discriminating manner. Thus, the girl who aims for a career gives most "like" school, while the one who is veering off into marriage gives most dislike. The strident ambition of the puberal, which was seasoned with discouragement, is now modified by a strong interest in "housewife and family" on the one hand and "career" on the other hand as main wish. The quality of the housewife and mother wish differs from that seen in the prepuberal stress on family and children. It is more directly combined with marriage rather than being a duplication of the parental set-up.

Age of marriage has now advanced to 23 to 25 as compared with the 19 to 22 age given by preadolescents. The fact that we are dealing with school adolescents may partially account for the later marriage age. Liking study and school now receives emphasis on a realistic basis. In the selection of a mate, frequent mention is now made of specific career qualifications as well as intelligence as a desired trait. This represents considerable progress in maturity over marrying a man who is "kind" or "good looking."

9. *Narcissism, self-esteem, and confidence.* These traits are most advanced in adolescence, while correspondingly least recording of dependent items is noted. In general, the adolescents exhibited more reserve and self-protectiveness and more critical and mature differentiation of the sexes. Increase in self-esteem is graphically represented in terms of larger size

and more abundant detailing. The male receives a larger share of this detailing than heretofore. More confidence in "smartness" and a higher percentage of narcissistic facial expressions are seen. Having a nice personality or a good sense of humor are now more important than being polite, kind, or obedient—virtues that are valued more by the preadolescent.

The adolescent tends to deny bad traits less often than the younger groups. Not only is responsibility taken for her faults, but her self-analysis extends to self-deprecation. Thus, being lazy, selfish, jealous, sloppy, impulsive, and drinking are bad habits of a more socially implicated and sophisticated character than the biting of nails, playing with hair, or losing temper of the younger girls. Increase in self-criticism is noted along with greater self confidence and reserve. The eyes of the figures done by adolescents are generally smaller and tend to look inward more than in preadolescent groups.

10. *Outgoing and dependency qualities.* A more mature interpersonal relationship level of outgoing and dependence is reflected in the adolescent drawings as contrasted with the need for tolerance and kindness which the puberal girl expresses and the extreme dependence upon the environment which the prepuberal girl shows. Instead of the "many friends" referred to by the puberal, adolescents prefer a few intimate friends. Strength of identification with contemporary models is further suggested by the greater frequency with which the figure drawn by the adolescent is identified with "a friend." In the stride toward maturity, older friends are favored, but the fact that there is least sliding back to younger friends or younger people drawn indicates that the interest in older friends is a growth trend rather than need for subsidy and support that it constitutes for the prepuberal.

There is a variety of evidence that a new life is being built by the adolescent on a more mature level. Family ties are substantially loosened relative to the younger groups. "Just fun" given as a good time by the preadolescent recedes in favor of more specific interest in having a good time with particular friends. Friends are now characterized more as a mixed group of boys and girls. Although the need for having people nice, kind, and helpful still maintains its puberal percentage, the reputation for being kind and helpful is of less concern to the adolescent. On the whole, the adolescent, although perhaps more sensitive to what people say than the puberal, has developed a more stable sense of self with which to countenance self-criticism or criticism from the outside. She is therefore not so easily discouraged. She shows least emphasis of such dependency feature as the eye, gives least notice to buckle detail which signifies mother-attachment, and records the lowest percentage of the "looking for approval" facial expression favored by the prepuberal. The eyes are smaller and turn inward in self-analysis. One feature of the drawings that is inconsistent and not clear is the increase

of pocket and button detail which are generally regarded as indicators of dependence and affectional deprivation. Perhaps it refers to environmental attitudes toward contemporary figures. This dependency feature is concentrated in the underprivileged groups of adolescents.

11. *Security and feelings of sturdiness.* Though security feelings may yet be weak, it appears that the compensations are more positive. Leg and foot consciousness, which refer to security and sexual problems, show an increase. This is handled by making the legs shorter and sturdier, and the feet larger and more assertive. Although the sturdiness of the legs does not sacrifice shapeliness, the legs are different from the long, thin legs of the prepuberal. The adolescent refers least to "health below average." The insecurity of the adolescent is more directly focussed upon her relationship to others than on body growth. She uses background for support of and stage for the figures she draws, but this background now consists of ground-line, objects, or landscapes, rather than of the additional humans or active movement which were stimulated by the active fantasy of the prepuberals.

12. *Sex characteristics and boy interest.* In line with the overall progress in maturity, considerable advance in these areas is noted. Direct emphasis of the breasts increases, while the indirect attention to that area of the prepuberal and furtive notice given by the puberal are outgrown. Clothing emphasis of the hips, which constitutes a socialized way of emphasizing that area, is most frequently utilized by the adolescent. More masculine, verbally aggressive lips appear as do stronger and more expressive noses, indicating a borrowing of some male features of strength rather than the weakening of the male by giving him female features, in the manner of the preadolescent. Contrary to the shaded and excited hair treatment of the puberal, the adolescent prefers rather empty and meagre detailing of the hair, suggesting a trend toward emancipation or an effort to sublimate, or deny sensual and dependent needs. We also find a decrease in "bangs," reflecting a lessening of conflict concerning intellect versus sensuality. Since our population is in the process of higher learning, this conflict may have been partially resolved.

13. *Sexual differentiation between the male and female figure with respect to all traits studied.* A more mature acceptance of the positive features of the male is revealed in our data. This is correlated with increase in self-confidence. The female can assume some of the negative traits herself without experiencing excessive threat. She no longer uses the male as a scapegoat. The differentiation of traits between the sexes acquires more realism. The percentage of male figures that are drawn larger increases. The male is also drawn with heavier line than the female, signifying a more active attitude toward him. The male line is heavier twice as often as the female line is heavier. In preadolescence the female was detailed much more

than the male. Now the distribution of detail is equally divided between the two sexes. Similarly, the female is now clothed more only twice as much as the male, while in prepuberty it was five times as much.

The male is now accorded the wide shoulders which belong to his sex. Although the female still shows more conflict than the male in the drawings, the contrast between an overburdened female and the carefree male is much less marked than in puberty. Although the male is generally smarter, the adolescent indicates that the female likes school twice as much. This is one respect in which the male is made to carry some of her own ambivalence. Despite the conventional notion that females are prettier, the female is given less advantage in good looks than the male. This is true throughout all the adolescent groups. As compared with prepuberal girls, the marriage prospects of the adolescent and her interest in the family are reduced in their advantage over the male. Although more friends are given to the female, the male is better liked. He goes out more, and is not quieter than the female as the prepuberal girl views him. The long neck control, given most frequently to the male by the prepuberal, has now shifted to the female, all in the spirit of increase of independent control. The adolescent's conscious wish to be like the female attains the ratio of two to one, favoring the female, as contrasted with the six to one ratio during puberty. This rivalry with the male, quite active in prepuberty and receding at puberty, now regains its strength, but in a context of greater maturity. Again the fact that we are dealing with a school group may accentuate the rivalry. The existence of this rivalry is supported by the finding that preadolescent groups attributed more ambition to the male in their verbal portraitures twice as often as to the females, while the adolescent gives equal ambition to the female. Thus, the rivalry is probably more on a level of need for self-realization than freedom from restraint which appears to underly the prepuberal's sexual wavering.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTOR

Although we have, to varying degrees of significance, been able to isolate trends referable to the maturity level of the girl, the reader must be reminded of the fact stressed in the earlier part of the chapter; that is, the important role of both socio-economic and particular school groupings in modifying the general maturity trends. The school grouping, although in part reflecting the socio-economic background, is a sufficiently important determinant in itself to deserve separate study. The remainder of the chapter will thus be concerned with these two major variables as they affect the prepuberal, puberal, and the adolescent scene.

All groups of the lower socio-economic level. In the sphere of activity we find motor inclinations more predominant than in the higher levels.

"Walking" is a much more frequent theme of the person depicted. Adulthood is generally viewed in terms of the immediate and pressing need of self-maintenance; thus reference to work is more prevalent. Ego models are more frequently tied up with movie characters, and movies as a good time are mentioned more often. This suggests a need to supplement the meagre material offered in their environment for identification purposes. The conventional social recipe of escape into movie fantasy is thus more frequently utilized by the lower than by the higher socio-economic groups that presumably have more active home stimulations. In line with this paucity in stimulation in the immediate environment, the less privileged girl offers less differentiated characters in the associations, and generally is verbally more restricted. Expressions are inclined to be more direct and motor in character. The more crude "cupid-bow" mouth treatment receives emphasis.

In the field of the dependency expression, we find more mouth conflict, suggesting immature oral dependence which may be associated with early food deprivation. Control features, as represented in the higher percentage of "long necks" given particularly to the male, suggest a background of strict and repressive parental environment. The frequent reference that is made in the associations to "control of temper" reflects the probability of more friction in the home and more active temper display. Greatest reticence is seen in the acknowledgement of "bad traits," since these are probably dealt with more harshly in their homes than in the homes of the privileged girls. Acknowledgements of self-extension as indirectly presented in the figure drawn are hesitant, and fewer self-identifications are consciously conceded. In the matter of friendships, this group tends to favor older friends. This may indicate a need for support, a drive to grow faster, or both. Sexual differentiations lean more toward the rapid rise of social participation of the female in an active and independent future. The female is more nervous and worried than the male, indicating the greater strain of her role as compared with the more privileged, but she is accorded more popularity than the male. This will be elaborated further under school differentiations.

All groups of the higher socio-economic level. Higher aspirations are recorded in this group in terms of a career. It is clear from the character portrayals and the drawings that the privileged girl is more stimulated to rumination and self-appraisal of a role in a richer and more complicated environment. Associated with it is more evidence of mood fluctuation, dissatisfaction, and emotional instability, particularly in the line treatment. We find worries and "less than average" happiness mentioned more frequently, but she is inclined to share them with the male more than the girl of the lower group. Mouth emphasis is greater, and eating is given more fre-

quently as a bad habit. The mouths are not of the infantile character given by the lower group. Bad temper is related more to injustice than personal teasing, and concern about independent controls is greater as suggested by the large amount of neck conflict.

Although the privileged girl is more emotionally linked to her family, and gives more parent-models for identification, she records more "below average" liking for her family. Need for friends is more frequently expressed, as is the wish to be liked. Goals are generally more intellectualized, and laziness and selfishness stand out as bad habits. There is a greater struggle with the male for decisive and even defiant self-expression. Contrary to the lower socio-economic group, we find that with a rise in maturity the male is permitted greater social participation. In the area of sex characteristics, we find more restrained breast treatment in the higher group.

Pre-adolescents of the lower socio-economic level. Conflict is expressed in more direct motor media such as erasures and shading as contrasted with the dimming and omission of the higher group. More hands are shown in coordination with the more active work-mindedness of this group. Legs are heavier and sturdier, figures are stockier, and office work is more frequently mentioned than in the higher group. The early marriage age of 19 to 22 is favored, and goals refer to wealth. The more concave mouth treatments correspond with other evidence of oral deprivation. Clothing interest is extreme, with more strapless evening gowns shown and generally more gaudy taste in clothing put on the figures.

Although exhibitionistic needs are strong, as with the other group, we find, along with the strapless evening gowns, emphasis on the high neckline modesty which indicates repression of body exhibitionism. It is judged that both relaxations and restraints are more crude and extreme. "Just fun" is more frequently mentioned as a good time, and attitudes toward friends or intimates appear to be more casual than in the higher group. Heavy dating, flirting, and sex appeal are referred to more, while the male is permitted to go out more than the female. He is given a wider stance of self-assertion, particularly at prepuberty, and his expression is more hostile. Are these projections of a home in which the position of the male is more assured and more expressive than in the higher group? The male is given more attachment to the home and family, although the female records average or better liking of the family. In general, family liking at least on the verbal level, is greater than in the higher group. The female outstrips the male in ambition at puberty, when it appears, from other contexts, that the female of the lower economic group is more vigorous about freeing herself from the repressions of the home than is the girl of the higher group.

Pre-adolescents of the higher socio-economic group. The prepuberal particularly shows covert and repressed forms of aggression as differentiated

from the more direct expression of the lower group. Manners are stressed and sex interest is furtive. Puberals may still cling to child-age projections and younger friends, reflecting greater hesitancy about growing up. Career interest and ambition appear accentuated, but in a setting of discouragement and fear. Marriage is more delayed than in the lower group. The prepuberals of the higher group record the highest percentage of "above average" health, but their concern with health is greater. Struggle and rivalry with the opposite sex, as an expression of confusion, are represented more in the higher group, who show the highest percentage of "male-first" drawings. The prepuberal considers the male more productive than the female, more frequently giving him hands. He is also healthier, and, at puberty, we find that he is also accorded more vanity, intelligence, and popularity. The prepuberal even uses the male model as self-acknowledged identification, more often wanting to "be like" him than like the female. On the whole, the preadolescent of the higher socio-economic level, although in many respects glorifying the female graphically, gives in the character portrayal of the male much of the relaxation and strength which she envies and feels is denied her. She has a divided mind. Competition with the male is thus more acute than in the lower group.

Adolescents of the lower socio-economic group. The adolescents probably have more minority groups, particularly Negroes, among them than the preadolescents of the lower economic range. When injustice is mentioned as a cause for losing one's temper, it probably refers to prejudice as well as other social injustice. This group has more ears, indicating more social sensitivity and reactivity to criticism. Kindness and helpfulness, which is more generally stressed in the higher group by the preadolescents, are emphasized by the higher adolescents. The underprivileged adolescent has outgrown the emphasis on sturdiness and stocky, manually oriented figures, but now has acquired the wishful model-image characterized by long, elegant legs in a setting of greater sexual allure. This wish is not too realistic, however, since it is contradicted by the highest percentage of discouraged "never goes out." Buttons and pockets, reflecting emotional and financial deprivation and dependence are more prevalent than in the higher group. Despite the drawbacks of the home, it appears that family loyalties, which were attributed more to the male in preadolescence, now shift back to the female in the lower group. Increase of responsibility not only for the family, but more ambition (long arms) and more interest in careers and professions are made manifest.

Adolescents of the higher socio-economic group. The more privileged adolescent shows more of the small, shut out, and egocentric eye treatments and is inclined to be more reserved than her less privileged sister. Worry about her figure and her appearance with contemplation of the early age

of marriage, 19 to 22, which was generally considered preadolescent, are noted. Wish for children appears more actively in the records. There is more active going out with boys, and parties are favored as a good time. Specific intimate friends serve more frequently as the model of ego-projection, and, contrary to the lower group, there is less concern with making her way individually out into the world. Popularity and freedom are treasured and given more to the male. This is often combined with both deprecation and envy of him. The fight with the male continues more actively with the privileged than the underprivileged girl.

INDIVIDUAL SCHOOLS

Preadolescents—Urban Elementary School. These are our youngest girls and almost all of them are prepuberal. They come from professional homes and to a large extent use their home affiliations for stimulation and ego-models. They show least movie interest in their statements of a good time, and refer to them least as ego-models. The group as a whole is physically active and shows the greatest immaturity in psychosexual matters. They project the largest percentage of large, glamorous, cosmetized, and display figures woven out of daydreams. Their portrayals are rich, and their aspirations are high and often unrealistic. They are most concerned about health and stress good manners, reflecting perhaps an over-regulated home environment. Despite the absence of a heavy line of assertiveness, a thin mouth, or pronounced chin, they do go to the center of the page, as if trained in egocentricity and self-assertiveness. A strong drive for social participation is seen with sensitivity over being talked about. It is interesting to note that despite their high intelligence (they are required to have an I.Q. of 130 or above), they record most "less than average smart."

Least biting of nails is referred to, although other forms of restlessness are marked. Being the youngest, and perhaps the most self-indulgent of our girls, they display the least neck control. They are least work-minded. Ego-models consist of the highest percentage of older ages, parent models, professionals, skaters, and dancers. The Urban girl refers most to good looks, almost as a rebellion against intellect. Half of the group like school, and half of them dislike school. Their characters are described as least bright, but they have average or better good looks. In the diversified character portrayals, the Urban girl often is excessively self-deprecatory in her analysis. Few sophisticated traits are mentioned, but kindness is important. She records the greatest amount of "looking for approval" facial expression, the most angelic and forced, placating type of expression, but least amiable or happy expressions. Temper and restlessness are frequently referred to.

Dependency is most marked in accordance with the group's immaturity. They show the most "arms out" contact with their environment, and the

greatest amount of movement or fantasy backgrounds. These involve humans (dependency), elements like rain (internal disturbance), and action of an athletic or self-display type. The Urban girl shows least sexual curiosity, gives her male the least tie emphasis, and even shows least of hair and sensual mouth interest of the older prepuberals. Her male figure is usually smaller, given undesirable traits and deprecated, although accorded the strength of broad shoulders and the wide stance of self-assertion. Also, in the associations, the female is described as smarter and better looking, but the male is happier.

Preadolescents—Meadowlane. This group is older in age and maturity, although not unsimilar in home background, intelligence, and socio-economic background to Urban. Most outstanding for this group was the prepuberal sophistication which retreated markedly to childish and regressive patterns at puberty. This group is generally more restless, and is making a more strenuous bid for decisiveness, and even defiance (wide stance). At puberty we find a pronounced rise in all features referring to regression and tension, and a decrease in most items that relate to control and maturity. There is an increase of symmetry and neck control at puberty in an effort to combat the apparent shock. Stress upon good manners is combined with the frequency of "bad temper." Lines are excessively disturbed, and the female is given a tense and precarious stance. At puberty there is a temperamental overemphasis and sort of determination with a marked increase in reinforcement of lines. Conflict concerning all contacts with people and work is handled with a guilty hand-behind-back treatment. Increased evidence of masturbation appears at puberty with a marked preoccupation about figure and good looks.

Worry and less than average happiness are recorded. Social dependency and need to communicate are stressed in this mood. The most frequent relaxation or escape theme appears as "get away to the country," or marry "a simple person." We find with all this active tension less fearful and hostile expressions on the faces of the figures, which suggests more permissive homes. Efforts at control are particularly manifest with neckline modesty indications and cutting off the sexual area with a heavy belt line. There are strong efforts to control the influx of sensual desires at puberty. Fear of growing up as well as egocentric mooring of the personality is seen in the preference for "same age" identifications at puberty. There is least interest in the evening dress or glamour details, although they favor the long, slender body type.

This group shows the greatest interest in intelligence as a trait and profession as a goal of all the preadolescents. Interest in work is less manifest. Much of this career interest recedes at puberty, although intelligence is considered important in a marriage partner. Marriage prospects are minimal

at puberty, although reference to having a family is frequent. The prepuberal 19 to 22 age of marriage is delayed at puberty. Dislike for school is increased as well as worry about it. In prepuberty much detailing in the drawings and a great amount of self-analysis in the associations lend a flavor of richness and sophistication to the personalities, which are more constricted at puberty. The awareness of their own self-indulgence is seen in the prepuberal reference to laziness, selfishness, sloppiness, impulsiveness, and jealousy as bad traits. They worry about their figures and their appearance. Personality and a sense of humor, usually stressed by the adolescent, are emphasized by the prepuberal Meadowlane girl. Interpersonal difficulties are suggested by the extreme difficulty they show in drawing the head of the figure, and their need for support is reflected in the "looking for approval" expression.

At puberty there is a definite drop in placating or amiable expressions. The Meadowlane girl who at prepuberty showed least of the dependency items, such as buttons, buckles, and pockets, showed a marked increase in these items at puberty. Similarly and unlike other school groups, intimate friends were referred to in prepuberty, only to lapse into the indiscriminate "just fun" type of a good time at puberty. On the other hand, such virtues as being a good family person or having a good time at home tended to fade at puberty, so that some active struggle of emancipation was going on despite the pronounced puberal shock that this group seemed to have undergone.

The Meadowlane girl seemed more interested in popularity with friends than in going out with boys, not that sexual interest and curiosity were lacking. Leg consciousness was most pronounced in this group, but discouragement attended any interest in boys. Hair and mouth sensuality was most highly represented in this group, but courage to deal with the boy problem was more anticipated in prepuberty than materialized in puberty. The Meadowlane girl was sensitive, self-indulgent, and competitive, and was easily vulnerable to male rivalry. Some degree of masculine protest may be postulated. The male is neglected, although this school shows the largest differentiation of male and female traits, indicating the vastness and intensity of the struggle for role determination. While the other schools gradually reduce the negative traits they give to the male, Meadowlane retains this differential through puberty, and is therefore slower to accept the male.

Preadolescents—Susan B. Anthony. In contrast to the prepuberal-puberal course of the Meadowlane girls, the Susan B. Anthony girls distinguish themselves for the easy and relatively less conflicted acceptance of puberty. Self-confidence generally increased, contrasting with the regressive phases of the Meadowlane puberal struggle. The Susan B. Anthony group appeared particularly body conscious and showed in prepuberty some of the sexual

awareness and sophistication that were generally not apparent until puberty in the other school groups. Masturbatory preoccupation is suggested by the frequent hands in pocket and freezing of hands at the genital area. There is more interest in figure and good looks than appears in the other schools, and the discouragement with which it is surrounded in prepuberty subsides at puberty. The fewest small drawings appear in this group indicating a relative absence of constriction and feelings of inferiority. The group is largely socially oriented with emphasis upon facial features. The sensitivity to social opinion that is stressed in prepuberty recedes at puberty.

Prepubertal interest in the exhibitionistic entertainment theme is replaced by more active boy interest at puberty. These girls give the most evening gowns; good looks is most important to them, and unlike Meadowlane girls, they show an increase in cosmetization at puberty. Smoking as a bad trait is mentioned rather precociously, sophisticated three-quarter views are given, most of the characters depicted are young married people, and least interest in the professions is manifested. Control features are least, and the long neck and symmetry seen in prepuberty (authoritarian homes?) fade at puberty, when there is a sharp drop in "average or better" liking of the family. Yelling as a bad trait is referred to frequently enough to suggest a frictional home environment. Intelligence as a virtue receives least emphasis in this group, and instead of the spurt of ambition that is seen in puberty reactions of the other groups, we find sexual and marriage interests prevailing. Wealth, comfort, and other pleasure-loving wishes are even more conspicuous than marriage, housewife, and mother interests. The prepuberal percentage of "will not marry," fades out at puberty. The greatest indifference to learning, the most dislike of school, and the earliest boy interest are seen in this group.

The size, facial expression, and self assertive features all testify to the greater narcissism of this group. They give most amiable facial expressions, have least younger friends, require the support of background least, and refer more to boy-friends than to girl-friends. Fairly sophisticated traits such as laziness, inattention, jealousy, impulsiveness, sense of humor, and good personality are referred to early in the development of these girls. They are sexually most alert. They prefer long, sexually shapely legs and give the earliest acceptance of sexual parts of the body, such as bosom and hips. They put most ties on their male figures and are generally less covert in sexual representations. They register the highest percentage of heavy dating, flirting, and sex appeal, and draw their own sex first. Much emphasis on playing with hair (sexual restlessness?) and additional remarks given mainly on the male figure add further evidence to the strong sexual concern of this group. The male is given more self-assertion, ambition, and intellect than the female, particularly at puberty, and he is given less worry. The female retains her superiority in good looks, and her marriage expectations are

greater than those of the male. One wonders if this physical acceptance of the sexual role is to be considered a sign of maturity, or is the price that the Meadowlane girls pay worth the higher stakes in terms of an ultimately richer and more differentiated adulthood?

Preadolescents—Universal Grammar School. This group is, in many respects, quite different from Meadowlane and from Susan B. Anthony. It is perhaps on the lowest rung of the socio-economic and intellectual scale for our group. Expression of problems is more direct and more motoric in its channels. It appears from our data that for this group, puberty is welcomed as emancipation from painful academics and restrictive and authoritarian homes. Most of the drawing and association items reflect a growth of confidence and maturity at puberty. This is contrary to the Meadowlane girls who recede, and to the Susan B. Anthony girls who submit and concede all active and productive life to the male, while sharpening sexual and physical tools of mastery. The Universal girl gives most nostril emphasis, indicating temper outbursts, and most absence of necks, suggesting direct expressiveness and weakness of sublimation and control. Reference to temper, lying, and aggressive sharp finger nails which refer to aggressive social contact, all diminish at puberty. At puberty we find a rise in body consciousness and in health concern. It appears that these constitute a girding for work and adulthood, particularly in the context of productiveness (most hands) and adult interest which they show at that time.

This group shows least interest in figure and good looks, and is naive and frank in their self-identifications, contrary to the Susan B. Anthony girls. They refer least to inferiority in "smartness" although many of them are dull. They show least ideation, elaboration of characters, or detailing in drawings. The virtues of being "clean, polite, and decent" are equated with sexual refinement. They are most clothing conscious (and give most hats), reflecting their deprivation in that regard. Exhibitionism is crudely expressed in bathing suits or strapless evening gowns. The short stocky legs that they draw prepuberally shift to the more sexually alluring long legs at puberty. Ambition, worry about work, and increase of responsibilities go hand in hand with confident expectations of marriage at puberty. In general, they refer to children and family more than they do to marriage. The fear of marrying a "bad" person is found most frequently. Business, clerical, and the trades are stressed as occupational futures with professions minimally represented. Reference to such self-indulgent traits as laziness, impulsiveness, or jealousy is least. There is little acknowledgement of bad traits. At puberty confidence increases as reflected in size and detailing of drawings. The character is "smart" more often in the confidence gained.

Dependency in terms of the concave mouth treatment is reduced at puberty. The Universal girls give few parent-models, but tend to lean toward

movie stereotypes more than the other schools. Arms extend out into the environment directly and naively, and to have a good time is just to have "fun." With paucity of stimulations, less discrimination is developed and perhaps less load to carry. Intimates are seldom referred to, but "friends" are mentioned often. In prepuberty we find the very small and very large (compensated) type of drawing. This evens out at puberty in the course of the marked stride in maturity, when realistic self-esteem is enhanced. Whereas in prepuberty the Universal girl, more than other groups, tends to overdress the female and neglect the male, at puberty she gives the male more detailing and makes him realistically larger than the female. This is the only group that gives the most bad traits to the female in prepuberty and much less at puberty. The fairly active family loyalty expressed in prepuberty fades, and the male likes the family better than the female at puberty.

The favorable picture of confident maturation that has, at least in contrast to the Meadowlane group, been drawn for the Universal girls must be seen in the light of larger social values. It is no great victory to reduce conflict and increase strength of weakly developed and poorly differentiated personalities in an environment that presents little stimulation and opportunity, and thus fewer contradictions. It should be far more desirable from the standpoint of socially constructive goals to aim toward making the puberal struggle less painful for the more sensitive, better equipped, and socially elaborated personality in an environment full of stimulation and opportunity.

Adolescents—Elizabeth Browning. This group reflects in its projected drawing identifications the known fact of many discordant and broken homes. Although they are very bright, they are concerned about their intellectual inadequacy. They give the largest percentage of small drawings, giving graphic expression to their sense of inferiority, vulnerability, and depressiveness. They are essentially a sad group with the least number of amiable expressions and the highest percentage of forced amiability (arc mouth). Aggression is of a repressed and mittened type, while lying and yelling receive frequent mention as undesirable traits. They give short, weak arms for contacting. For a group that is receiving higher individualized education, ambition is relatively meagre. This is consistent with the prevalent "just housewife" goal. Ego-models are relatively old. They are over 30, married, and lack the wholesome contemporaneous quality. They show the greatest worry about the family of all the adolescents. Despite the predominance of housewifely goals, they give the lowest percentage of "will marry." If they marry, they want "a simple person." There is more need for contact than in other adolescents, but interpersonal contacts are fraught with conflict. Much sensitivity about being talked about is indicated. Strong conflict is indicated in the control defenses, and the highest percentage of

"below average" in health is recorded. The nose treatment is passive, and this group gives a larger percentage of "self-sex first" than the other adolescents. One can only conclude that this group is particularly conflicted and discouraged. Hostility towards the male is pronounced. The male figure is given in a heavier line and often no neck control. He is described as irresponsible. He is happier and perhaps even better looking than the female. They envy his freedom, but they do not emulate him as a model. No clear evidence of "masculine protest" is evident.

Adolescents—Diana College. This group is much more active and enterprising than the Elizabeth Browning adolescents. Although there is self-consciousness, fear of self-assertion, and aggression is generally too sublimated and intellectualized, confidence in achievement is relatively high. Sexual characteristics are particularly repressed, and sensuality is concentrated in the high recording of mouth emphasis, and is thus probably diverted into verbal activity. Although adolescents as a group are generally figure conscious, Diana girls reflect little of that item in their drawings. Although they feel the pressure of a complicated environment, the Diana girl is not withdrawn, but rather has a strong urge for social participation. She is serious and purposeful, stressing the virtues of honesty and conscientiousness, and expressing most active work-mindedness. Intelligence is highly valued for both the self and the marriage partner. Good looks is important as a social rather than sexual instrument.

This group is probably receiving its higher education under considerable financial strain. They worry about money, and are the only adolescent group that refer frequently to clerical work as an occupation. Marriage uncertainty is greatest with them, and they record the highest number of "over 26" as the age of contemplated marriage. Need for interpersonal contact of an intimate friend type receives frequent emphasis. Feet are small and insecure, and the "future" weighs heavily upon these girls. The more immature sexual expression of hair, generally puberal, is favored by this group, while breasts, hips, and legs are given minimal attention. Males are drawn larger but are not given the detailing appropriate to their size. Much conflict about giving the male broad shoulders bears out the impression that the Diana girl is grudging in her rivalry and repression of interest in the male. The female is given the advantage in going out more, being better looking and happier, whereas, except for good looks, the advantage is usually given to the male among other adolescents.

Adolescents—Knickerbocker High School. This group is different from our other adolescents in several respects. They are younger; they are of somewhat lower intelligence on the average; and a good number of them are Negroes. Emotional instability in terms of line disturbance and variability is most marked. Drawings are generally large and assertive, well de-

tailed, and suggestive of fantasy compensations of inferiority. In many respects, this group aligns with the preadolescent Susan B. Anthony girls. Figure and good looks are of basic concern, and wasp waistline controls are common. Intellect is subordinated in both the self figure and as a trait in a husband. As with the Susan B. Anthony girls, three-quarter views, which constitute a compromise between profile evasion and front view exhibitionism, were common. Entertainment ambitions are stressed, and movie idols may be used as models. There is much cosmetization with emphasis on eyelashes and posing.

Many of these girls come from broken homes where the female takes over. Careers are stressed for the female more than "housewife" futures. Manual and contact emphasis are suggested by the high percentage of hands indicated, but some guilt is probably associated with the hands, since they are given as the worst part of the body. This is not surprising in view of the "loading" of aggression and sexual concerns. Facial expressions are most spontaneous and amiable. They are, however, rather temperamental and react irritably to their insecurity. Groundline for footing is most used by this group. In contrast to the intellectual Diana girls, the Knickerbocker group are sexually most alert, give most breast emphasis, and give least of the immature sexual feature—hair emphasis. They register the highest number of "male first" and give mostly strong noses, suggesting a strong identification with the male, which, in light of their environment, seems natural. Hostility toward the male is not concealed. The male is a drifter, goes out more, has mostly negative traits, but is happier. The female shows more conflict. This is the only adolescent group that persistently gives the male negative ratings. This may be viewed in light of their specific life experience.

Adolescents—Keats Junior College. From the socio-economic standpoint, this group is probably the most privileged of our sampling. It is not clear why the female is so cowed in self-expression and esteem in reference to the male. Do these girls come from male-dominated homes and has their social position been enfeebled? The drawings of this group are least skilled and most meagrely detailed. They show almost as much body tension and leg consciousness as the preadolescent Meadowlane girls. Arms are held tensely toward the body, suggesting fear of extension into the environment. When arms venture out, they return to the body axis in extreme egocentricity. Worry and "less than average" happiness appear frequently in their records.

Many aspects of the drawings and associations of this group are similar to what is seen in puberal groups, suggesting inhibition in the growth process that is not clearly understood in the light of their good opportunities. Self-ages are given to the figures, suggesting narcissism and blocking of growth. Work is mentioned least, and career is ignored for marriage in an

age range that is particularly young for the adolescents, 19 to 22. School interests are casual. They give the highest percentage of "bangs" covering the brow. Social traits are stressed. Personality and charm vie with negative traits such as laziness, impulsiveness, sloppiness, and jealousy. Main wishes are to be liked and marry a "nice" person. Similar lethargy and indiscriminate specification is noted in "fun" given as a good time. Males are larger in size, more aggressive, with particular emphasis on oral aggressiveness. Interestingly enough, despite this picture of inferiority of the female, no insecurity of footing is noted. Is the Keats girl satisfied with her adjustment? Self realization in any terms of aspiration or striving, is conspicuously blocked in this group of debutante adolescents.

REFERENCES

1. BLOS, P. *The Adolescent Personality*. New York: Appleton-Century, 1941.
2. CONKLIN, E. S. *Principles of Adolescent Psychology*. New York: Holt, 1935.
3. DAVIS, A. Socialization and adolescent personality. *Yearb. nat. Soc. Stud. Educ.*, 1944, 43, 198-216.
4. DEUTSCH, HELENE. *The Psychology of Women*. New York: Grune and Stratton, 1944. Vol. I.
5. ERIKSON, E. H. Ego development and historical change. In *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*. New York: Int. Univ. Press, 1947. Vol. II, pp. 359-396.
6. MACHOVER, KAREN. *Personality Projection in the Drawing of the Human Figure*. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1948.
7. MEAD, MARGARET. *Coming of Age in Samoa*. New York: Morrow, 1928.
8. MEAD, MARGARET. *Growing Up in New Guinea*. New York: Morrow, 1930.
9. MEAD, MARGARET. *Sex and Temperament*. New York: Morrow, 1935.
10. MEAD, MARGARET. Age patterning in personality development. *Amer. J. Orthopsychiat.*, 1947, 17, 231-240.
11. SEWARD, GEORGENE H. *Sex and the Social Order*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1946.
12. ZACHRY, CAROLINE. *Emotion and Conduct in Adolescence*. New York: Appleton-Century, 1940.

TABLE II

INCIDENCE OF VARIOUS CHARACTERISTICS IN THE DRAWINGS OF VARIOUS GROUPS, REPORTED AS PERCENTAGES

	GROWTH PHASES										<i>Adolescent</i>			
	Pre-puberal		Adolescent		Urban Elem.	Meadowlane	Universal		S. B. Anthony	Knickerbocker		Elizabeth		
	Puberal	cent	Puberal	cent	Prepuberal	Puberal	Prepuberal	Puberal	Prepuberal	Puberal		Prepuberal	Puberal	Browning	Keats
1) <i>Activity:</i>														
*Inactive	69	82	69	57	93	90	57	68	69	71	72	74	85	75
*Standing	12	33	16	19	15	30	0	16	0	11	13	14	23	16
*Talking (general)	8	2	0	11	5	4	0	0	15	0	0	0	0	0
*Talking as good time	1	2	2	Below	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	0	13	14	0
*Thinking	1	7	10	0	5	10	0	4	0	4	2	9	17	16
Anticipatory	34	19	18	7	61	18	67	16	24	14	16	25	9	16
*Movies as good time	13	14	8	2	17	21	11	14	19	5	12	6	8	6
Athletics, Sports	21	26	21	16	19	26	11	21	18	15	25	12	17	29
2) <i>Aggression:</i>														
Heavy line	39	29	37	24	44	25	73	27	42	29	41	25	53	46
Wide stance	34	43	33	29	39	54	42	34	31	34	37	37	41	58
Neck omitted	11	4	5	6	6	5	42	14	6	5	7	0	15	0
Nostrils	36	48	26	37	19	35	69	77	34	37	36	36	21	8
Mittened hands	15	17	19	16	16	19	11	18	11	15	19	15	29	15
Thin mouth	7	17	16	5	11	16	4	30	11	3	8	15	23	29
Chin emphasis	14	23	31	17	8	15	11	10	30	19	18	34	34	34

Long fingers	22	21	33	24	12	22	39	11	23	22	45	38	25	16
•Vulgarity-manners	12	9	15	17	24	22	4	2	0	2	17	13	13	14
•Temper-teased	18	28	20	9	15	29	42	32	27	22	20	20	15	20
•Temper-injustice	25	30	57	18	35	35	11	18	28	26	47	51	65	54

3) *Body Tensions, Egocentricity, Regressions, and Guilt:*†

Body conflict (Eras.)	36	38	28	30	23	23	35	46	57	46	26	33	29	16
Line disturbance	49	61	80	72	72	85	31	61	31	53	93	76	83	83
Left placement	72	85	72	70	81	86	84	86	70	86	64	82	62	58
Tense stance	43	45	38	65	27	46	42	44	38	32	46	35	53	66
Leg emphasis	16	25	16	22	34	53	8	14	0	7	10	7	17	33
Arm conflict	53	55	50	54	64	71	30	39	50	46	56	44	50	57
Arms close to body	10	21	11	12	6	17	7	21	7	26	12	9	6	16
Arms out and back	25	49	37	14	36	49	19	23	35	31	34	38	29	46
Arms at side	17	13	21	6	16	12	19	21	31	10	20	20	29	16
Hands behind back	18	24	12	16	23	20	11	22	16	23	8	8	9	33
Hands in pocket	5	7	5	2	15	10	0	4	8	2	3	4	3	4
Hands omitted	12	21	20	6	5	12	1	18	34	36	15	21	15	33
Midline emphasis	22	26	35	27	25	22	11	32	23	24	33	40	26	33
•Eating too much	18	18	20	22	24	29	7	2	7	10	19	10	22	53
Mouth conflict	45	59	29	11	48	50	57	64	47	62	33	47	15	21
•Biting nails	25	24	27	18	27	24	38	30	27	17	25	29	29	25
•Restless, get away	20	28	54	23	17	34	7	20	7	19	37	64	65	41
Size below average	50	50	26	38	57	44	83	64	37	42	16	25	44	29

• Refers to associations.

† Most of the items contributing to increase in body tensions are accentuated at puberty.

GROWTH PHASES

S C H O O L S

	Pre-puberal	Adolescent	Urban Elem.	Meadowlane	Universal	S. B. Anthony	Knicker-bocker	Elizabeth Keats
	Puberal	cent		Prepuberal	Prepuberal	Prepuberal	Puberal	Browning Keats

3) *Body Tensions, Egocentricity, Regressions, and Guilt:* (continued)

Size small	20	15	6	19	18	12	37	25	15	8	8	3	12	0
Below average detail	36	34	17	39	30	31	76	39	4	26	16	20	29	54
Meagre clothing	14	17	16	14	15	16	7	9	15	26	14	13	3	41
*Gdiks below average	43	41	33	38	53	45	23	27	53	37	30	38	30	21
*Face worst part	10	17	8	6	8	9	27	13	5	26	14	14	0	0
*Figure worst part	9	10	6	2	7	4	19	11	11	17	10	3	6	4
*Worst part all	16	18	4	9	3	8	9	5	54	59	10	0	0	0
*Would like to be like	21	36	28	24	29	36	31	34	0	36	26	33	30	27
*Intell. below average	27	19	19	31	26	24	15	7	26	24	12	17	32	14
*Unhappy	36	29	50	28	37	32	18	16	18	18	37	32	46	50
*Wish-happiness	13	28	22	9	8	8	26	52	10	31	17	19	20	45
*Worried expression	19	19	23	13	28	22	11	14	27	21	34	19	17	50
*No worries	22	17	15	13	6	18	29	13	38	20	15	15	6	25
*Cheerful, gay	5	5	16	5	8	9	0	0	4	3	11	11	18	20
Head reinforced	25	20	25	27	18	17	23	21	15	10	24	28	12	0
Head dimmed	10	5	8	7	14	10	0	3	4	0	8	7	14	0
Ears present-emph.	27	23	39	19	23	22	20	14	30	34	47	42	37	0
*People say bad things	15	14	25	25	23	23	0	5	11	13	19	30	30	19
*Marry bad person	1	2	4	3	0	2	0	5	0	0	7	3	4	4

3) *Body Tensions, Egocentricity, Regressions, and Guilt:* (continued)

*Marry a simple person	2	4	8	0	8	2	0	2	4	5	8	12	12	4
Fearful expression	13	14	12	15	9	11	15	14	15	19	16	12	9	13
Hostile expression	16	22	24	19	15	15	17	28	18	22	13	13	9	50

4) *Control Elements in the Personality:*

Neck-conflict	24	23	31	24	37	25	15	16	7	24	26	28	37	32
Long neck	16	32	29	6	17	24	19	33	38	44	23	27	30	25
Neckline emphasis	30	38	45	23	25	41	54	32	46	41	57	49	29	25
Waistline elab.	12	17	13	15	25	16	19	11	7	19	15	8	8	21
Waistline reinf.	36	26	26	33	53	31	31	25	24	20	18	24	32	33
Waistline tightened	14	15	20	10	14	15	23	12	15	15	29	20	12	4
Neat or part in hair	20	20	18	8	29	37	8	10	30	16	22	21	18	12
*Never loose temper	13	18	16	12	11	10	19	34	15	14	11	19	11	11
*No worst habits	9	18	2	0	8	6	15	36	35	17	2	2	0	0
*Clean, polite, decent	12	15	5	7	14	9	15	30	4	7	5	2	0	2
*Honesty, conscient.	8	12	26	5	6	29	5	14	8	4	16	38	13	21
Symmetry emphasis	28	26	33	18	20	36	22	12	42	22	38	32	32	32

5) *Ego-Models and Identifications:*

*Older figure	82	72	62	85	65	64	81	71	42	84	60	65	76	71
*Same age	7	13	13	7	8	21	13	5	11	3	11	11	6	21
*11-16 years	26	40	13	15	39	47	15	21	29	29	12	14	15	0
*17-25 years	38	54	67	48	22	42	73	86	33	43	66	66	53	87
*Married	25	15	6	32	14	13	38	18	14	24	2	8	18	8

* Refers to associations.

(continued on next page)

GROWTH PHASES

S C H O O L S

	Pre-puberal		Adolescent		Urban Elem.		Meadowlane		Universal		S. B. Anthony		Knickerbocker		Elizabeth	
	Puberal	Puberal	Puberal	Adolescent	Urban	Elem.	Prepuberal	Puberal	Prepuberal	Puberal	Prepuberal	Puberal	Knickerbocker	Puberal	Elizabeth	Keats

5) *Ego-Models and Identifications:* (continued)

*Housewife	4	4	1		2	5	3	0	0	0	1	8	0	2	0	0
*Trades, cler., bus.	14	22	13		0	7	16	28	31	12	11	8	8	16	9	4
*Professional	11	9	17		15	6	3	4	14	11	11	15	15	15	21	15
Sailor suits	2	3	3		0	0	0	7	7	0	0	0		Insignificant		

6) *Exhibitionism, Display, and Glamour:*

Front view	86	85	72		88	88	91	92	93	74	72	63	77	76	83	
Three-quarter view	5	9	21		0	0	7	0	2	19	20	28	2	12	0	
Profile view	7	6	14		9	5	3	8	5	9	0	12	20	2	2	
Display theme	7	13	21		17	0	7	0	21	0	15	18	18	24	24	
*Entertainment theme	13	6	8		12	12	4	27	11	4	3	12	5	9	4	
*Entert. ambition	28	18	19		28	23	18	28	23	38	12	26	13	15	17	
*Movie idol model	4	13	6		3	0	7	7	23	12	12	10	4	6	0	
Clothing emphasis	40	41	20		37	45	36	36	46	38	41	5	37	9	37	
Evening dress	10	13	7		7	7	4	11	21	19	21	3	7	9	7	
Jewelry	5	7	2		0	9	11	4	7	4	4	0	5	0	0	
Bathing suit	8	2	2		4	3	5	19	3	2	4	4	0	0	0	
Costumes	8	1	3		13	3	1	4	0	4	3	5	3	0	0	
*Being pretty	40	51	37		45	32	42	27	31	27	61	30	53	29	46	

Large eyes	15	19	19	8	20	20	19	18	1	21	26	26	0	3
Small eyes	22	22	42	9	45	19	26	39	22	31	30	36	79	62
Eyelashes	18	14	14	20	12	7	19	12	15	26	27	10	4	2
Cupid bow mouth	13	22	7	5	17	19	15	16	23	33	12	8	0	0
Long legs	55	45	47	64	68	52	0	35	46	38	55	55	35	16
Arms posing	5	4	9	7	2	5	0	4	7	2	15	7	7	0

7) *Family Attitudes:*†

*Home a good time	11	4	4	11	30	3	12	9	12	9	6	6	3	4
*"Nice family person"	16	7	8	3	2	1	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	6
*Like fa. average-better	78	66	66	60	69	73	95	75	88	50	69	69	56	74
*Like fa. below average	38	38	57	47	50	50	0	8	21	45	66	54	57	32
*Losing temper at fa.	8	7	2	12	8	4	0	7	0	8	7	0	0	0
*Having children	20	13	10	24	18	8	30	10	11	21	7	8	15	13
*Worry about family	16	13	8	13	13	11	38	11	4	19	7	7	12	14

8) *Goals, Attitude toward the Future, toward School, Career, Marriage, and Children:*

Long arms	16	18	8	20	15	26	0	21	15	3	13	13	3	3
*Professional ambition	22	41	36	15	33	53	15	31	15	31	46	39	17	25
*Intelligence, good point ..	7	9	16	7	7	9	15	12	0	5	8	27	27	21
Hair on forehead	29	29	16	21	24	23	38	45	31	21	15	15	15	25
*Intel. main wish	3	5	4	4	4	8	0	0	0	5	2	7	9	0
*Intel., people say	6	2	5	5	5	2	7	0	11	0	5	2	7	7
*Marry int. man	4	6	14	4	4	9	4	3	0	5	6	21	6	16

* Refers to associations.

† Note the greater family concern in prepuberty.

(continued on next page)

GROWTH PHASES

S C H O O L S

	Urban Elem.	Meadowlane	Universal	S. B. Anthony	Knickerbocker	Elizabeth	
		Prepubertal	Prepubertal	Prepubertal	Prepubertal	Browning	
		Pubertal	Pubertal	Pubertal	Pubertal	Keats	
	Adolescent					Adolescent	
	Prepubertal	Pubertal	Pubertal	Pubertal	Pubertal	Pubertal	

8) Goals, Attitude toward the Future, toward School, Career, Marriage, and Children: (continued)

*Skills, good points	11	8	6	11	14	7	18	4	7	12	8	3	8	8
*Career, main wish	34	38	54	24	63	53	8	30	24	22	69	51	44	27
*Clerical or business	6	12	8	4	3	0	4	24	11	14	0	12	0	8
*Ambition, hwf., mother	8	12	16	5	11	14	11	7	5	14	8	15	29	21
*Have family and children	23	47	31	27	16	36	68	82	16	27	43	27	27	39
*Marriage, main wish	24	30	35	18	36	25	31	46	7	20	43	27	27	39
*Will not marry	12	5	6	12	12	7	0	0	23	7	5	5	8	3
*Will marry	45	89	86	33	42	81	65	100	33	84	87	87	73	96
*Maybe or hope marry	4	6	7	9	7	10	0	0	0	8	6	19	0	0
*Marry 18 or below	2	2	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0
*Marry 19-22 yrs.	32	44	22	21	33	25	57	62	38	52	17	17	32	37
*Marry 23-25 yrs.	13	22	26	11	9	32	15	5	23	19	25	30	20	25
*Marry 26 or over	6	16	30	4	9	26	0	3	0	12	27	37	19	29
*Worry about finances	9	12	24	8	5	25	5	2	15	6	28	30	19	19
*Wishes for wealth	16	25	32	7	5	11	23	34	27	35	15	31	27	16
*Hates school - below av.	32	38	43	24	23	53	22	12	45	38	40	42	43	32
*Worry about school	9	15	9	9	9	31	7	7	7	7	16	20	16	25
*Don't go to school	0	22	6	7	2	0	0	41	0	36	19	9	3	5
*Likes school, study	43	50	68	24	48	60	49	57	34	29	58	58	51	62

9) *Narcissism, Increase in Self-Esteem and Confidence*[§]

Size - aver. or better	49	50	78	62	43	56	17	36	62	48	83	74	73	70
Size - large	19	17	38	21	18	27	37	11	15	27	50	36	41	20
Detailing - av. or better	71	66	80	71	70	67	15	59	65	74	82	77	66	45
Facial exp., narciss.	10	8	16	7	14	10	7	5	15	7	17	19	16	18
Small, shut out eye	22	22	42	9	45	19	26	39	22	31	30	36	79	62
*Good looks - av. or better	61	67	69	61	45	66	45	84	38	66	90	58	60	61
*Smart - aver. or better	61	85	79	50	70	88	61	98	57	72	83	77	67	91
*No nervous habits	25	37	15	18	26	41	38	50	26	25	8	21	12	8
Hands shown	39	38	38	36	9	36	57	45	46	36	38	28	28	35
*Arms worst part	12	6	6	9	16	9	11	5	7	5	10	3	5	7
*Selfish, lazy, jealous	19	14	63	9	33	19	8	4	12	9	40	58	74	93
*Impulsive, drinking	10	13	25	0	21	13	5	3	10	20	26	29	12	40
*Personality, humor	20	25	32	18	25	38	3	20	29	30	24	24	33	54
*Reminded of self	1	8	11	0	3	9	0	7	0	7	15	8	8	20
*Reminded of nobody	23	32	28	11	45	28	15	34	23	34	22	33	21	32
*Not be like charact.	34	40	43	27	47	29	54	45	0	50	39	44	44	46
*People like charact.	7	11	13	12	15	11	0	12	4	12	10	18	7	10
*Worry about appearance	23	34	44	13	48	44	30	25	4	28	36	30	61	83
*Face best part	21	17	17	19	19	17	42	14	19	17	14	14	27	14

10) *Outgoing Qualities, Dependence, Need for Acceptance, Attitude towards Friends, Going Out as a Good Time*[¶]

Eyes emphasized	49	38	17	59	56	44	34	26	34	34	17	11	29	11
Looking for approval	17	10	5	7	20	10	15	3	4	12	0	7	0	0

* Refers to associations.

§ Most items bearing upon increasing narcissism, self-esteem, less dependence, more figure consciousness, more protectiveness and reserve, and more critical differentiation of character receive emphasis in adolescence.

¶ Most of the dependency items are preponderantly prepuberal. Attitudes toward friends mature and become more discriminating as does a "good time."
(continued on next page)

GROWTH PHASES

S C H O O L S

	Urban Elem.	Meadowlane Prepubertal	Universal Prepubertal	S. B. Anthony Prepubertal	Knickerbocker	Elizabeth Browning Keats					
	Adolescent	Prepubertal	Pubertal	Pubertal	Adolescent						
10) <i>Outgoing Qualities, Dependence, Need for Acceptance, Attitude towards Friends, Going Out as a Good Time:</i> (continued)											
Head conflict	25	28	25	35	45	15	45	14	19	58	25
Concave mouth - receipt	38	27	28	53	28	35	38	34	26	23	16
Arc mouth - upturned	9	4	5	7	7	4	0	7	5	12	0
Amiable expression	12	19	10	11	19	11	27	16	14	9	12
Pockets and buttons	33	30	44	42	39	30	30	42	43	30	36
Buckle emphasis	17	14	7	27	9	19	10	5	7	5	12
*Parent age model	20	10	16	0	0	15	20	12	12	23	8
*Having older friends	21	29	39	6	15	19	26	33	33	17	21
*Older and younger friends	25	41	38	29	47	40	36	31	40	35	50
*Wish to be liked	8	8	6	17	17	4	0	2	8	4	16
*Having younger friends	13	10	4	16	16	4	5	15	0	10	0
*Average or more friends	28	30	15	56	50	0	18	7	10	10	23
*Reminded of a friend	22	22	27	19	9	15	31	32	31	20	26
*Reminded of a movie star	8	10	12	5	7	19	14	5	7	17	12
Arms out	40	22	27	44	36	14	54	32	27	26	20
*Helpful, kind, people say	29	47	30	25	26	38	50	57	27	50	34
*Helpful, kind, gd. points	29	35	38	24	23	37	61	41	23	26	44
*Marry nice person	22	26	26	19	19	23	31	32	23	22	20
*Good time with friends	24	25	41	12	32	40	23	14	20	13	38
*Having fun	15	14	6	8	8	12	27	23	15	7	4
*Parties as good time	8	8	6	11	9	9	0	5	11	5	3

11) *Security Feelings, Sense of Physical Sturdiness and Health:*

Background	16	11	23	27	12	12	12	10	12	16	6	48	13	16	16
Conflict about feet	29	35	35	24	31	37	23	10	23	42	46	29	41	32	25
Reinforcement of feet ...	40	30	34	56	45	43	11	14	41	23	48	22	41	25	25
Small feet	18	18	9	6	11	2	23	34	11	21	2	18	3	1	1
Large feet	12	13	20	13	9	12	26	9	0	15	19	20	22	12	12
Feet worst part	9	9	13	7	7	13	15	9	7	0	7	7	7	17	21
Thin legs	20	14	15	38	12	25	16	14	14	3	10	13	13	25	25
Heavy legs	11	15	24	6	6	20	22	11	22	14	31	25	12	16	16
Short legs	11	19	19	14	12	17	0	21	8	17	20	16	17	25	25
Long legs	55	45	47	64	68	52	0	35	46	38	55	55	55	35	16
*Health av. or better	80	86	85	82	82	93	61	91	76	85	79	85	85	82	96
*Health below average ...	22	20	15	29	21	25	11	13	11	20	10	10	13	18	4
*Health main wish	7	7	10	12	1	4	7	9	4	8	9	9	11	0	21

12) *Sexual Characteristics (Acceptance of), Degree and Type of Boy-Interest:*

Breast emph., conflict ...	31	57	58	36	29	43	21	61	85	100	84	39	61	47
Breast brief indic.	8	8	10	8	16	18	0	4	0	0	2	14	0	24
Chest walls reinf.	28	21	11	24	32	32	11	14	11	7	5	11	4	7
Hip, clothing emph.	23	27	32	30	20	19	27	20	15	45	18	26	35	29
Hip, line reinf.	18	13	5	22	22	12	22	11	4	15	8	18	18	0
Skirt conflict	30	25	29	26	29	31	31	25	34	19	50	23	26	16
Crotch conflict	18	13	11	22	20	20	15	9	4	7	10	7	15	21
Tie on male	9	12	11	2	15	11	11	11	15	15	8	14	8	14
*Legs best part	5	4	10	3	11	6	0	0	0	5	11	11	9	9

* Refers to associations.

(continued on next page)

GROWTH PHASES

	S C H O O L S														
	Urban Elem.		Meadowlane		Universal		S. B. Anthony		Knicker-bocker		Elizabeth Browning Keats				
	Pre-puberal	Adoles-puberal	Pre-puberal	Puberal	Pre-puberal	Puberal	Pre-puberal	Puberal	Pre-puberal	Puberal	Pre-puberal	Puberal			
12) <i>Sexual Characteristics (Acceptance of), Degree and Type of Boy-Interest: (continued)</i>															
*Legs worst part	11	14	18	10	17	30	56	11	19	19	34	14	24	0	0
*Flirts, goes out freq.	23	26	12	8	12	9	31	36	41	36	13	18	0	0	0
*Goes out moderately	25	42	46	21	21	24	30	70	11	44	41	42	31	77	
*Goes only with husband or never goes out	19	36	10	17	30	56	11	19	19	34	14	24	0	0	0
Full lips	7	10	8	0	14	15	8	11	0	3	8	14	0	0	0
Cupid bow mouth	13	22	7	5	17	19	15	16	23	33	12	8	0	0	0
Strong nose	31	24	36	28	47	31	11	11	7	24	45	33	29	33	
Weak nose	26	34	34	25	26	41	11	23	38	38	32	32	50	32	
Hair conflict	64	86	68	54	63	83	64	83	68	78	48	75	52	45	
Hair empty	31	31	40	15	45	36	12	11	4	41	22	41	47	47	
Hair on forehead, bangs	29	29	16	34	21	23	38	45	31	21	14	15	15	25	
*Playing with hair	5	8	5	3	5	13	0	2	2	7	7	3	3	8	
13) <i>Sexual Differentiation between Male and Female Figures Regarding All Traits:</i>															
Male first	31	32	31	22	56	49	15	14	17	24	34	21	13	35	
Male larger	21	24	35	16	28	27	8	25	25	24	24	47	12	50	
M. heavier line	13	22	26	10	9	27	23	28	8	10	10	14	23	58	
F. heavier line	12	13	12	4	10	20	8	18	15	10	14	12	17	0	
Only M. front view	9	7	14	7	6	0	7	4	24	21	24	5	8	25	

. Only F., front view	9	8	12	5	6	10	8	0	30	14	10	9	16	8
. M. more detailed	7	5	20	5	12	7	7	14	0	7	21	3	23	50
. F. more detailed	19	13	23	19	25	31	7	27	15	17	21	9	17	0
. M. more clothed	7	9	7	5	15	17	7	0	0	10	3	0	0	25
. F. more clothed	32	23	13	16	34	32	46	25	3	10	10	12	17	0
*M. more remarks	29	29	25	0	39	40	16	18	0	24	28	22	25	25
*F. more remarks	26	21	25	0	23	18	42	24	0	20	25	25	30	25
. Shoulder conflict	55	75	73	43	82	97	34	62	50	55	63	80	66	66
. M. wider	13	7	11	20	16	6	7	14	7	2	8	12	17	8
. F. wider	12	9	8	19	0	9	19	12	4	7	10	14	9	0
. M. stance wider	41	21	20	31	25	32	46	38	61	7	20	16	12	33
. Hands only on M.	4	7	10	5	5	10	0	7	0	7	5	4	9	3
. M. arms longer	2	8	2	3	5	3	0	7	0	14	0	0	4	0
. F. arms longer	5	19	5	10	8	3	0	39	0	14	0	0	15	4
*M. more ambitious	17	30	27	11	24	38	24	25	0	27	17	28	35	41
*F. more ambitious	8	14	28	7	9	16	0	11	15	14	48	16	24	24
. M. head more reinf.	12	18	20	0	25	20	0	25	0	10	0	21	22	24
. F. head more reinf.	5	14	13	0	13	10	7	21	0	10	7	24	6	0
. M. more hostile exp.	20	12	12	15	15	5	23	18	31	10	10	14	17	0
. M. more fearful exp.	6	7	9	2	12	10	0	3	7	10	0	16	6	8
. M. more amiable exp.	15	23	14	12	15	20	23	28	23	27	17	12	12	16
. M. more narciss. exp.	12	14	11	9	18	25	15	7	0	7	7	9	12	18
*M. more happy	18	18	25	24	19	26	0	7	15	14	37	19	37	0
*F. more happy	24	19	24	9	40	30	40	7	15	15	27	36	5	0
. M. more conflict	13	10	14	19	6	5	23	11	0	17	10	9	17	33

(continued on next page)

* Refers to associations.

GROWTH PHASES

S C H O O L S

	Pre- puberal	Adoles- cent	Urban Elem.	Meadowlane Prepu- beral	Universal Prepu- beral	S. B. Anthony Prepu- beral	Knicker- bocker	Diana Browning	Elizabeth Keats					
									<i>A d o l e s c e n t</i>					
13) <i>Sexual Differentiation between Male and Female Figures Regarding All Traits: (continued)</i>														
F. more conflict	29	42	44	21	37	37	15	50	38	41	62	40	35	25
M. stance more tense	15	9	5	2	3	2	23	11	15	17	6	6	6	0
*M. worries more	9	10	0	3	6	18	15	13	31	7	0	2	0	8
M. looks more worried	16	8	16	7	12	17	7	7	31	20	13	19	13	8
*F. worries more	12	16	16	9	18	13	22	10	62	27	13	21	13	16
*M. more nervous	10	13	8	14	6	16	0	14	15	17	3	6	0	0
*F. more nervous	8	19	9	7	12	23	0	14	7	17	20	12	12	0
*M. loses temper more	10	16	11	8	8	21	7	7	23	17	4	12	12	33
*F. loses temper more	11	12	14	6	15	14	23	11	6	10	16	19	16	0
*M. worst habits	12	10	2	12	12	11	0	3	23	10	0	12	0	0
*F. worst habits	9	8	3	9	6	18	23	3	0	3	7	2	0	0
*M. smarter	15	32	35	15	22	30	0	21	15	43	31	28	41	50
*F. smarter	39	24	27	45	39	30	0	7	39	31	27	31	28	9
*M. likes school more	5	20	16	0	12	25	0	14	7	17	11	11	27	27
*F. likes school more	39	24	27	45	39	30	0	7	39	31	27	31	28	8
*M. healthier	23	31	24	15	47	44	15	17	0	24	21	24	23	25
*F. healthier	16	20	14	21	34	23	0	11	7	27	13	16	13	8
*M. better looking	15	21	24	12	22	23	7	18	13	20	31	9	47	25
*F. better looking	39	33	34	42	42	32	23	25	31	45	27	23	43	33

*M. more good points	3	8	0	9	3	7	0	14	0	3	0	0	0	0
*F. more good points	4	4	4	7	3	7	0	0	0	3	10	2	0	0
*M. more friends	7	8	5	7	0	18	0	0	0	3	3	3	12	8
*F. more friends	7	13	8	12	3	27	0	0	7	3	8	8	12	8
*People like M. more	15	12	10	16	19	25	7	3	7	3	10	0	29	16
*People like F. more	14	17	3	12	22	28	7	11	7	7	10	0	0	0
*M. goes out more	20	31	32	16	12	32	31	36	38	51	41	25	35	25
*F. goes out more	28	24	24	26	41	25	15	25	15	24	11	38	11	25
*M. quieter time	19	11	15	21	25	6	7	14	7	7	6	6	15	6
*F. quieter time	2	5	6	0	3	3	0	0	0	1	0	5	0	0
*M. marriage expect.	1	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	12	0
*F. marriage expect.	17	5	6	19	12	4	7	0	31	6	0	7	17	0
*M. more family att.	9	19	13	22	6	16	0	16	0	24	17	17	0	0
*F. more family att.	20	15	22	16	31	28	0	0	23	10	24	31	0	16
M. more long neck	21	4	6	24	23	2	23	1	14	5	14	4	6	5
F. more long neck	15	3	17	8	28	0	7	0	9	0	17	17	23	8
*Be like male more	15	7	14	16	24	6	0	2	0	12	10	13	13	16
*Be like female more	23	43	26	14	46	46	14	36	0	40	16	42	0	24

* Refers to associations.

THE HORN-HELLERSBERG TEST

By E. F. HELLERSBERG

The child's way of understanding his surroundings, the concepts he uses, the manner in which he responds to daily events differ decisively from those patterns by which the adult lives, works, and reacts to daily events. Ever since Jean Piaget, the French psychologist, started to study the "child's conception of the world," one has felt the challenge to investigate in detail the transformation from the child's early acquired concepts to those objective views which an adult needs in order to function adequately and efficiently in his own culture. We are concerned with the questions: Of what in her immediate environment is the girl in different developmental phases aware? How does she respond to it? How much is she aware of changes in her own make-up, of her developing femininity, and, finally, how does her attitude toward the world change with a gradual acceptance of her own growth toward womanhood?

In our culture, this acceptance is not without struggle, and we will notice that the storms of inner physiological changes shatter the youth's ego considerably. The following presentation will throw light on the defenses that the girl's ego has available in each phase of her development. These are different mechanisms by which she is able to meet outer demands while undergoing her inner transformation. At every step these inner changes destroy those ego mechanisms which the child has established in a former phase. The girl's function in her outer reality with respect to her performance on our test becomes a reflection of this inner struggle.

Twelve years ago we used a drawing completion test as an experimental device to find out which of the younger adolescents who came to a vocational service agency for counsel were ready for adult working life and which of them were still bound to immature concepts and attitudes which hindered them in acting in an adult way. We used the H-H test for making predictions. From the results of this experiment and after eight other years of experience, we developed a method of interpreting our test material with the explicit aim of formulating a judgment of how fit the individual is to enter our adult world, a world, of course, which has its own unique cultural patterns. When participating in the study of three hundred adolescents here described, we used the test for the first time as a group test. We wanted to

find out in which way the three developmental levels present a moving away from the child level and in what manner the transformation into adulthood takes place. In short, do the girls under study differ from the young child, and in what way do they differ from those who are already able to function as adults?

The drawing completion test which we used consists of twelve squares, each two and one-half to three and one-half inches in size. Each square has a few lines and the subject is directed to "Draw a picture out of each square by using the lines." After finishing, the subject finds a square where no lines are given and he can draw whatever he wishes. Instead of the usual interview, the students were asked to write comments on every picture. This made it possible to get that information which is needed for interpretation and evaluation and which is obtained by interviewing when the test is administered to individuals. Given sixty minutes for drawing and writing of comments, the girls produced sufficient material to make it possible for us to formulate an appraisal of each personality. We also could make a comparative study of approximately eighty items, the summaries of which permitted us to draw conclusions on characteristics of each age level.

In order to complement the other tests used in this particular study, our major objective was defined in the following way:

First, in what sort of world do these girls live? What objects or content do they draw? What part of the outside world did they absorb and reproduce? We also were interested in how they reacted to the task itself, what changes take place from age level to age level, when the girls submit themselves to such a task. How do they observe what is given, the lines in the squares? How do they react to the stimulus itself, the thing that the line suggests, and how do they react to the restriction of having to fit the images to the given material? If they draw in the square without any lines, do they feel freer or do they miss the stimulus? What is their capacity for concentration? As the task demands a flexible adaptability, do they show freedom in accepting their own ideas whatever they are, realistic or fantastic, or do they feel scared of their own impulsiveness, their free imagery?

How much do they verbalize their enjoyment or their annoyance when reacting to the demand to adapt their ideas to the given lines? The fact that they may verbalize their reactions to every picture gives many people an opportunity to demonstrate their versatility, particularly when they feel less adept at expressing themselves in drawings. These comments help to verify the attitude which the subject brought into the situation. This attitude was particularly challenged by the question, "Which picture do you like best and which was most difficult for you?" The subjects were also asked to give reasons for such self-appraisals and self-criticism.

In our interpretation we had two major aspects. First, we dealt with facts accessible on a conscious basis. The girls made a statement describing

from which area of reality the objects had been obtained. (See page IV of test blank). Did they observe such a scene, did they read about it, or was it their imagination, their subjective expression? The younger the child, the more naive and direct are the comments, but the growing youth shows a distance from the task. The test is not easier for him, but almost harder. He develops certain methods to fight off his awkwardness and difficulties. The expression of like and dislike becomes more subtle; the difficulties presented by this test are handled by changing the direction, the sequence, ignoring lines, etc. We note the number of original pictures, the subject's capacity to present the pictures as a connected whole or in disconnected single items. These divergencies are related to different types of mental organizations and provide a clue to the individual's way of solving problems. But the older the person, the more subtle the techniques become.

So far we have tried to investigate the way the individual deals with reality and with tasks around him on a conscious level. We are studying how they formulate their purpose, how they judge their performance and what kind of images they reproduce. However, another aspect was as important to us, namely, to understand why the particular girl solves her task in a given way. Why does she react to this assignment in the way she does? The twelve to thirteen pictures are a medium for studying inner tensions and the way these tensions are relieved.

The physical nature of these girls is in a tremendous and continuous transition. It seems that their reaction patterns change as much as their metabolism changes. One day the subject may be a harmless, undisturbed child and one week later be in the most excruciating inner turmoil, as a result of inner processes. There are other subjects whose changes occur more slowly. Neither they nor their environment observes the change. Nevertheless, the pertinence of the transition is as great. In fact, so little is known about the psychological effect of such transitional experiences, that we have in our material concentrated on those elements which yield some clues to the presence or absence of tension. Looking at the drawings with the assumption that they reveal something about these inner tensions, we have to ignore the conscious intention of the subject who draws the picture and search for elements which the individual can hardly verbalize. Indeed, this material best demonstrates how instinctual tendencies shift in emphasis from one emotional need to another while the individual is unable to describe or even notice it.

We are particularly concerned with the relation of tension-control—namely, restraint on the one hand and release, expressiveness, and extroversion on the other. Symptoms of *tension and their control* were the following: predominance of single figures or single heads, particularly when drawn without bodies; the formation of drawn closures, which means that all given lines are connected, forming a close-up toward the environment

(see Margaret's case record of the prepuberal girls, Appendix B); blocking and insecurity in producing images; rigidity and compulsiveness in the manner of drawing, avoidance of concrete references to the present surroundings; escape into abstraction, designs, or symbolic presentations. If the latter is extreme, we speak of a sort of loss of reality contact which can be the result of severe control and introspective self-reflection. For adults it has sometimes indicated a severe withdrawal of a pathological character.

Release and capacity for expressiveness was observed in pictures which show action, movement, interaction between people or between animals and people, also emotional exclamations or sentimental references. Some objects also indicate emotional reflections: landscapes, flowers, etc. Violent action also counts for expressiveness, as well as the frequent presentation of nature elements: storms, lightning, waterfalls, high waves on the ocean, etc. The capacity to express tensions or to retain them is, of course, closely related to development in the instinctual sphere. Are the urges which the subject experiences acceptable or is she so afraid of them that she must control and suppress them? As these urges are themselves changing and may surprise the subject suddenly, we need still another means to interpret what sort of tensions are prevalent at that particular phase of development.

Being in the fortunate situation of having three groups of one hundred girls who were physiologically in the same developmental state so far as their sexual maturing was concerned, we could apply a statistical approach to a field which is still largely hypothetical and study the *symbolism of certain images*. As most of these girls drew twelve to thirteen pictures, we could simply count the repetition of certain themes and the way these were handled. Through this quantitative approach, we can recognize that in different phases of organic development the human being has a particular empathy with certain forms of nature and man-made objects. In this study, we shall offer our observations and venture their underlying meaning, assuming that the forms the girls chose must express physiological and morphological tendencies. This symbolic language appeared so particularly rich because the absorption of their attention in utilizing the given lines on the test blank for the production of drawings sets free an unconscious choice in drawing whatever their fantasy produces. Thus, the *configurations* in the drawings are considered a symbolic language *expressing instinctual wishes and curiosity about matters not yet experienced consciously*.

For a long time we have been startled by the differences between girls' and boys' tests. The present material showed that the prepuberal child has a symbolic language differing from that of the postpuberal person and the maturing woman again searches for new images to express her changing concepts of herself and of the world in which she wishes to live. We selected some few items which we followed through different age levels. Such are landscapes which are either closed or open, showing rolling hills and far

horizons or representing high towering mountains, cliffs, and gorges. We noted various forms of water bodies, the use of violent nature elements and, finally, we studied what appeared most fruitful, the change of the presentation of single houses. The latter seems to be a projection of the self of the girl. This may have some relation to her domestic abilities but also relates to definite physiological fantasies. The proof of this is the fact that the entrance to the house changes considerably during the periods we have studied. Another theme which became of interest to us was the frequent appearance of the sun in the drawings of the prepuberal girls and particularly the sun over the valley, while the far horizon seems to belong to the adolescent girl.

Instinctual tendencies which we could elucidate through such symbolism was confirmed by noting the girl's selection of male or female figures. How many adults and how many child portraits are drawn? Are the males or females more realistic or more fantastic figures? We found that the choice of human elements always coincided with the physiological tendencies which we extracted through the aforementioned symbolic meaning of the forms of objects. In consequence of this relationship of human pictures on the one hand, symbolic objects on the other, and finally the tension and release elements, we were able to give for each subject a diagnostic estimate of her instinctual situation at the time of her test, which in the majority we found in accordance with the other clinical tests. Comparing all the items obtained on larger charts, we found common trends in the groups of girls which were chosen for study. This led to the recognition of trends and instinctual constellations in regard to each age level. Having access to the inner reality of these girls, their attitude toward the world and their outer reality could be explained more sensibly.

THE PREPUBERAL GIRL

From former experiences we know that the child before ten lives in a world of her own. In a superficial comparison of the prepuberal between ten and eleven with the puberal we missed such distinctness in the characteristics of the prepuberal. On the contrary, there was much resemblance to the puberal group. Yet I wanted to know how this prepuberal pattern has developed, and in what way it differs from that of the child before ten. I felt the need for an additional experiment with a group of eight-to-nine-year-olds. Forty-two of our prepuberal girls came from a progressive school, The Urban Elementary School. In this same school we obtained twenty-seven tests of boys at the same age level as the girls. This school also permitted us to test two other classes of younger children, where we found thirty-five boys and thirty-eight girls of eight to nine and one of eleven years, the latter being the classmates of the forty-two of our hundred prepuberal girls.

The control material of the eight-to-nine-year-old girls became instructive and illuminating to us. Now we realized what tremendous changes had taken place already in our prepuberal girls when they reached the age of ten or eleven years. *To the question when does the drama of puberal changes start, we have to answer: It must begin much earlier than in the group we are studying.* Our prepuberal group is so close to the onset of puberty that it seems apparent that it has lost already many features which are typical for girls before ten years of age. The contrast with the boys' tests permits us to search for what we may call typical female features which become stronger as the girl grows older. Resemblance to the boys' tests enabled us to detect the tomboyish trends in the teen-ages. (See Table 12.)

We add an excerpt from our large charts which illustrates some points we will discuss later. In the first four columns one finds the four groups just mentioned: the two boys' and the two girls' groups. The last girls' group represents forty-two of our hundred prepuberal. On the table then follow the three age levels with which our study was concerned. The subtle changes of these three phases can be recognized if we compare these findings with those of the younger children. The few items mentioned on this table are a summary of our large list with about eighty items; forty of them were a tabulation of contents for which we used Table 12. The other items were qualitative descriptions, which also permitted a quantitative summing.

How does a child, so close to the great event of her puberal change, see the world and how does she deal with a practical work situation? The first striking observation was this: The child in this age level has definite difficulties in fulfilling the task required, and the difficulties reach an extreme height shortly after puberty sets in. This is in great contrast to observations made with children before ten. The most common reaction for these younger children is the following: They hear the direction, they see the given lines in the test blank, and instantly they get an idea and are able to draw it. The one hundred prepuberal girls of eleven years do not react so simply. They struggle much harder with the task, and this is expressed in a variety of verbal comments. Already in prepuberty we notice an inability to set energies in motion, which is particularly marked at the beginning of the test. This is an indication that the child's energies are absorbed by inner processes. Their eye is no longer caught by an outer stimulus. Something is counteracting this naive perception and, what is more important, something is blocking them in putting down their ideas. We conclude that adults who expect the child of this age to deliver work on time or to keep herself well groomed and all affairs in good order will meet with some difficulty. Such adult attitudes may create frustration, and if the child receives criticism, it must result in some confusion and self-depreciation.

We made another observation with regard to work attitudes: This age level has inner mechanisms to steady themselves—mechanisms which are

TABLE 12
 AVERAGE OCCURRENCE PER SUBJECT OF CERTAIN H-H TEST ITEMS
 IN FOUR GROUPS OF PREPUBERAL BOYS AND GIRLS OF THE
 URBAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AS COMPARED WITH
 THE 300 GIRLS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

<i>H-H Item</i> (interpretation)	<i>Urban Elementary School</i>				<i>C-Z (Present) Study</i>		
	8-9 years old 38 girls	35 boys	11 years old 27 boys	42 girls	Prepub. 100 girls	Puberal 100 girls	Adolesc. 100 girls
Single Figures	2.4	1.5	1.5	2.1	1.98	1.86	2.11
Single Heads	1.4	.6	1.3	1.5	1.56	1.60	1.58
Total (tension, self-consciousness)	3.8	2.1	2.8	3.6	3.54	3.52	3.69
Interaction of People .....	.4	.5	.3	.66	.57	.28	.55
Actions, Movement	1.2	1.0	1.1	1.5	1.53	1.35	1.94
Total (social assertiveness)	1.6	1.5	1.4	2.16	2.10	1.63	2.39
Violent Action .....	.05	.40	.25	.40	.41	.24	.22
Nature Elements .....	.40	.40	.50	.64	.49	.34	.43
Total (release of tension) .....	.45	.80	.75	1.04	.90	.58	.65
<i>House and Entrance</i> (symbol of female self)							
Road broader than door .....	.05	0	0	.12	.10	.07	.08
Road to house like house on stilts .....	.10	.03	.06	.21	.13	.04	.01
Zigzag road, fences as obstacles to reaching house	0	0	0	.29	.14	.80	.11
Horizontal road into vertical door (fem. maturity)	0	3x with cars-on-road	2x with cars-on-road	0	.02	.10	.25
<i>Landscapes</i>							
Sun .....	.27	.03	.10	.64	.51	.32	.49
Sun over hills and valleys .....	.19	0	.10	.30	.31	.20	.07
Moon .....	.05	.10	.22	.21	.13	.10	.09
Horizon (fem. emotional longings) .....	.13	0	0	.14	.20	.07	.48
Technical vehicles .....	.6	1.4	1.4	.57	.54	.67	.77
<i>Human Figures</i>							
Realistic —female ..	1.70	.20	.44	.82	.85	.45	1.14
—male ...	.60	.70	1.10	.12	.58	.40	.89
Fantasy —female ..	.31	.11	.03	.72	.71	.71	.31
—male ...	.70	1.00	1.10	.42	.48	1.07	.82
Glamorized —female ..	.20	0	0	.23	.31	.40	.46
—male ...	0	0	0	.01	.01	.01	.10
Emotional —female ..	0	0	.10	.1	.15	.32	.69
—male ...	0	.20	.20	0	0	.01	.24

lessened in the next developmental stage. There is a feeling for control and order which causes the prepuberal child to proceed step by step. She often does the test in reading order, choosing the squares from left to right and often finishing one page after the other. The self-set order, which is rarely present after the onset of puberty, keeps the prepuberal girls productive, in spite of their awareness of difficulties and a growing resistance to following the suggestions of the lines. Occasionally these difficulties become more pressing and an acute anxiety sets in, the fear that they may not succeed. While the puberal girl more readily resigns or gives up, the prepuberal girl has a keen wish to accomplish in spite of inner tensions which become apparent in their relationship between themselves and their work. We assume that they have derived from past experience a certain amount of confidence that their efforts pay. It is this confidence that is quickly lost when puberty sets in. One could measure the strength of their ego by observing how they handle the difficulties. In this age level ego strength is proportional to the even effort maintained. They draw on accomplishments in the past.

In the responses to the question, "What do you like best or which picture was the most difficult one?" we have a means of studying the girls' value system. Indeed, it is related to the level of past years. They react frequently by saying, "This picture is more realistic" or "It's easiest" or "It looks like it from the beginning." They have a simple and unreflected expression for the like of particular objects—"I like my dog," "I love to draw flowers," or "It reminds me of things of olden days." "It is cute" is often used. We observed an emotionality in what they do or draw. There is little inhibition of their capacity to express naively their likes and interests. They often like a picture because of its action. (The meaning of the high percentage of action and interaction between people in this age level will be discussed later.) The dislike of this group is often formulated in "It's hard to do" or "It took me a long time." We realize that they are aware of growing difficulties, but the essential reaction to this difficulty is the wish to accomplish. As yet they do not seriously doubt their ability to do their work.

What position do these children hold in reality? The eight-to-nine-year olds have a much greater capacity for taking in real facts. In contrast, the girls close to puberty show considerable conflict. On Table 12 an average of only 31 per cent of all drawn objects are taken from their immediate surroundings, their "objective world." We notice a liking for fiction telling and for reading. There is a large number of interacting people, by which we do not mean the interaction of pets and persons, which is also a preferred theme and typical for this age. The variety of items is great but the charts often show a clustering in fantasy products and emotional features. The number of heads and single persons is high too, higher than for eight-to-nine-year-old girls or for boys of the same age (see later).

One observes that the girls resort to jokes when matters become difficult. Other girls react differently to difficulties; they may produce stereotypes. This is particularly noticeable in girls of economically poorer background. Difficulties are not yet met by a rational mastery of the situation. Intellectualization and sophistication are almost nonexistent. This holds also for those girls of intellectual parents with a mentally stimulating home environment. One notices a stern ambition to keep on being efficient, which does not increase their mental flexibility. In general, one can observe a search for descriptive adjectives which make their drawings more "important" or more attractive.

Some girls with this intellectual background escape in cartoon drawing. They draw fancy objects to indicate that they are no longer naive. This is connected with a naive boasting, a search for an artificial solution, showing competitiveness. These endeavors suggest that these girls remember their previous lively responses to matters around them and to their own fantasy products. Therefore they have to exaggerate their embarrassment about some beginning insufficiency by being particularly fancy. In this connection, the case of Constance W (Appendix B) is particularly illustrative.

This girl, though well adjusted, demonstrates that the ambitious aims are weighing on her. The more her ego is engaged in the wish to excell, the more the remnants of her child-like flexibility are lost. The well adjusted girl of that age is able to direct her energy toward congenial aims but the ambitious girl is apt to ignore given necessities. The girl of this age level can mechanically draw on child-like flexibility and bluff herself as much as her environment.

The greatest mistake the environment or education of these prepuberal girls can make is to increase their ego tension by ambitious or competitive demands. These demands throw them into a self-conscious awareness of work difficulties earlier than is necessary. We have compared the tension system and the means this age uses to find relief. Representations of interaction of people, movement, and action reach a higher rate than they do for younger children. All these items are summed up as "Social Assertiveness." Release of tension is also higher in this developmental level than it is in the postpuberal child. A wholesome relief is indicated by a certain amount of expression of violence and by a high percentage of elemental outbursts of power in nature which, for comparative reason we have summed up as "Release of Tension." We were amazed to see that these one hundred prepuberal girls show more of these violent outbursts than do boys of the same age or girls and boys two years younger. This fact may serve as a warning, indicating the amount of inner explosiveness which these girls experience psychophysically. It also throws light on the increase in tension produced by the body in preparing the system for its natural function. It

is a wholesome endeavor if girls find an expressive outlet in physical activities, emotional experiences, intellectual appetites, or social participations.

In striking contrast to this capacity for expressiveness and release is the fact that these prepuberal girls show so much concern about human problems. This is expressed in the appearance of single human figures. These solitary presentations and those of single heads appear as a tendency to solve problems by "figuring out" the person by mental reflection. The same ratio found for these girls is also present for the girls between eight and nine and up to adolescence. Mature adults no longer need to delve into such single figures. The boys have less need for such isolated reflections on humans. They show only about two-thirds of this need.

On turning to specific themes which permit some conclusions about the girls' morphological preoccupation, we find that frequency of "suns" is the first striking feature, suns rising or setting over valleys and mountains.¹ The physiological association is, of course, completely unconscious. There are many valleys with a sentimental prettiness. The sun is seen partially hidden by sloping hills, somewhat suggestive of the human buttocks. Horizons which appear in adolescence with increased emphasis, are rare for the prepuberal and puberal child. In contrast to this, closed-in "landscape," that is, the crowding of trees, bushes, and other nature objects with little or no vista (or perspective) is rare in the prepuberal but more frequent in puberty. A considerable number of girls in prepuberty present water with lively waves, as if the movement of water in open places or oceans had a particular appeal for them. (Compare Nos. 5 and 6 of Nina's pictures, Plate XIII, Appendix B.)

The drawing of houses which we followed up to adulthood has bearing for this age level. The houses of the prepuberal child, perhaps representative of the girl's self, are pretty and trim, mostly fairy houses, not really something to live in. Roads do not lead straight to the door but are placed more vertically; sometimes they appear like stilts on which the house is propped up. (See Nos. 1, 2, and 3 of prepuberal pictures, Plate V.) They are not at all inviting for entrance. These stilts support some other vertical feature connected with the house; a big smoke stack, sometimes the smoke going straight up in the air (or the houses are placed on high hills).² All of these items emphasize height. Boys of the same age squander these phallic symbols. We are inclined to interpret such phallic elements in the girls' tests as a symptom of confused sex tendencies. Many of these girls are actually tomboys. On a deeper level their enacting of boy's behavior in daily life corresponds to an aggressive self-assertion related to the rise of

¹ See also Constance's pictures No. 6 and No. 3, Plate IX, Appendix B.

² See puberal picture No. 2, Plate VI.

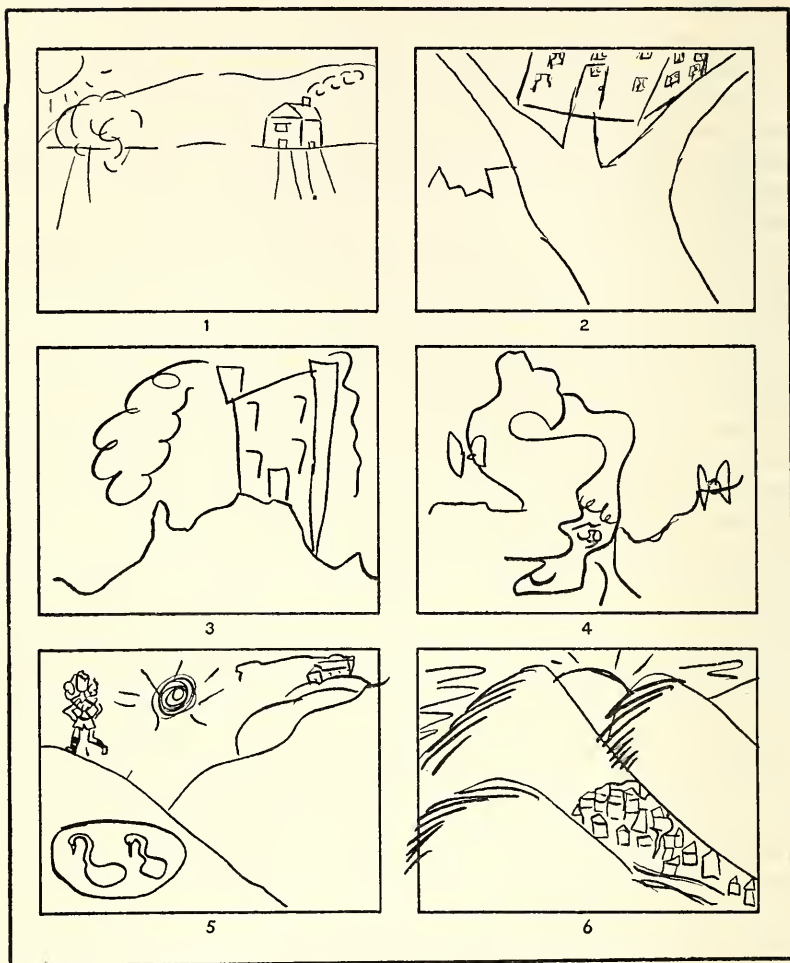


PLATE V—Horn-Hellersberg Test Pictures Drawn by Prepuberal Girls

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. An imaginary house in the country | 2. House on a hill with many paths |
| 3. Factory of a hill | 4. A modern picture of a glamor girl |
| 5. Just a house | 6. Sun and mountain |

inner tension which we mentioned before. It is this age level which combines such aggressive outlets with the vertical instead of the horizontal.² If they draw horizontally dominated buildings or houses, it seems that the doors become a matter of special concern. They like to put knobs on the door, a trend which is stronger still in puberty. (See also Constance's picture No. 1, Appendix B.) By this the girls want to show how well the house is locked or that it has to be guarded. In contrast to the girls, in each boys' group we found three who drew houses with roads leading to them. But on each picture were one or several cars dashing along the roads or driving into the open door. Obviously the boy's identification goes with the car and has an unmistakably sexual significance—a car becomes a phallic symbol. The boy does not seem to identify with the house. (Compare phallic pictures of Barbara, Nos. 4 and 5, Appendix B.)

Let us insert some remarks about the tomboyish girl. The clinical tests used by our colleagues in this study showed severe disturbance in some of these girls. Yet we observed in the H-H material that the same girls are not so endangered as they appeared to be in these other tests. In addition to an enormous need for aggressive outlets, we found a very lively exchange with the reality around them. The girls really act in ways common for boys in our culture. It may well be that this tendency creates ambiguous situations in their surroundings which may increase the girls' inner tension to a dangerous point. Their own emotional and mental sanity fares better than that of their environment which must stand the stress and strain of this developmental crisis.

How does the presentation of the human element correspond to our findings? The high percentage of interaction between people already mentioned is proportional to the enormous need for outlets. Drawings of many single humans, and the thoughtful interest in them, forms an amazing contrast to this need for sociability. But what kind of people do these girls draw? We will again compare them with the prepuberal boys who come from the same social class and even from the same school. The forty-two girls drew forty-eight females and twenty-seven males. Twenty-two of these twenty-seven male figures are fantasy: Kilroy, clown, Robin Hood, "victim of peculiar eyes," ghosts, faces of a great wizard, etc. Boys in the same age treat the male differently, for instance, man sitting on bench, riding horse, deep sea diver, general holding torch, native carrying basket, man killing coyote. In the boys' drawings of male figures, realistic and fantasy figures were equally proportional. The twenty-seven boys show twelve realistic females versus one fantastic one. For the boys this means a definite neglect of the other sex, without fantastic illusions about them. The girls' interest in human matters is already rising but their interests are guided by their fantasy. The amount of fantastic male figures is surpassed by females. There are twice as many fantastic female pictures drawn by girls eleven years of

age than they draw two years earlier. It is the eight- and nine-year-old child who delves into reality. This factual approach disappears close to puberty. The child uses his energies to build up a substitute reality. This fantasy world probably has to shield her from growing inner tensions. It forms a protective device for their ego just as the outbursts of action and violence are also means of defense of the self.

In fact, the group of eight-to-nine-year-old girls show twice as many realistic presentations of the female than the group of ten-to-eleven-year-old girls do. The male is shown realistically almost as frequently as in fantastic disguise. The approach of puberty brings about a fling into the fantasy world with regard to all human elements. Some realistic pictures of women of the prepuberal girls are: "Strolling in the Park," "Talking to My Rag Doll," "Cook," "Tennis Champ." The fantasy women are "Romeo and Juliet," "Swedish Girl Dancing," "Woman Ghost," "Fairy Princess," "Old Greek Lady." The few glamor girls appear disguised and distant, for instance, "On the Stage," "Donna Barbara," etc., as caricature shown in No. 4 of prepuberal pictures, "A modern picture of a Glamor Girl."

We can sum up some general characteristics of this developmental level. There is little preconception of a feminine role and female aspirations are not yet drawn. The girls' value system has not yet been revised and, therefore, they judge themselves in terms of more childlike accomplishments and in the conventional way. The emergence of their personality is still a long way off. A drive toward self-assertion is more concerned with meeting requirements, fitting themselves to demands. Their self-confidence is shattered when they feel that they cannot handle their tensions or are not living up to requirements. In their consciousness the real storm has not yet started and the increase of release and empathy in activities of tomboyish nature serves as self-protection. This also explains their identification with violence and natural elements.

In their struggle to maintain a secure ego, we can notice some danger points which it is worthwhile to mention here. We have already pointed to the case of Constance W. She is relatively well-adjusted but struggles hard with herself to meet the high scholastic standards of her school. The anxiety about her achievements becomes more understandable and we realize how much this age still lacks ego defenses. These girls become particularly susceptible to the over encouragement of competitive schools or ambitious parents. The danger for these girls is the fact that they enter their puberal storm with their self-confidence already shattered. They do not know nor do they master their already high inner tensions. Instead, they go on proving themselves in the expected way. One may conclude that this kind of nervous ambition increases the girl's need for emotional outbursts and violence if they attend schools with ambitious and high scholarship standards. One sees on our chart that this particular school, which ad-

mits only children with an extremely high I.Q., has a higher average of violence than the average for the whole group.

Another danger for the prepuberal crisis lurks for that group of girls who live on the East Side and attend public school. The most outstanding feature is their amazing resourcefulness in working through the task which is presented. Their weak ego defenses force them to take conventional demands as a measure of their self-esteem. They are subdued by those expectations with which they are confronted but—and this is important—their surroundings offer somewhat confused values. The realism of this group is stronger than that of the upper social classes. Concrete items of their surroundings appear in lollipops, comics, garbage cans, cracks in the wall, rowdiness of man, and others, a pathetic reality indeed to deal with. (See the pictures in the case records of Nina from the lower East Side, Appendix B.) The cultural differences between children of Italian descent and those whose parents come from Russia, Ireland, or China is greater in this age level than is noticeable later, since family influences are not yet counteracted by broader American social experiences. This differentiation in cultural groups demands a separate study. In a quantitative approach aiming at characteristics of age levels, the variety of family background often blurs the statistics. Obvious trends and reaction patterns of certain development levels appear diminished if one adds up two contrasting milieus as New York's East Side public schools and New York's West Side private schools. Those girls whose grandparents were born in America and whose families still live on the East Side appear particularly defective and almost degenerative. These families must have been hopelessly caught in circumstances which caused them either to move back or not to rise out of this East-Side condition.

Nina I. is a typical girl of Italian descent, living in a low, East Side neighborhood. She shows resourcefulness obviously challenged by stringent necessities but, as the environment is not congenial to her needs or very conflicting, it is questionable whether such conditions offer her those chances for development which her abilities deserve.

A third source of conflicts is presented by the prepuberal case of Margaret M. All clinical interpreters of the various tests stressed unanimously a strong father complex. This fact confirmed our assumption that the frequently drawn suns indicate that this developmental level is unconsciously preoccupied with the male symbol. For some children it is an attractive, warm, and life-giving sun. For others the sun is awe demanding. Note the little Pilgrim girl in the reproduced test of Nina. Sometimes the sun may be a father as a source of terror and utter confusion. The child shrinks to a little imp in front of its impressive greatness or, as in the case of Margaret M., the sun produces a lurking desire for suicide.

We do not yet know what cultural, psychological, or biological facts cause the girl to repeat these symbols and probably to ponder on their attachment to the father in this age. We are far from answering the question of how one could counteract the dangerous implications of this particular conflict. We should gather more data on this important problem of human development. Perhaps a more frank interpretation of art production in this age level or close observations of acute conflict situations in families may clarify these facts.

THE GIRL IN PUBERTY

The prepuberal girl has a conscious emphasis on realism and, at the same time, an increasing need for the use of fantasy; both serve as a sort of ego defense. The high frequency of action and interaction in our interpretation, "symptoms of social assertiveness," conceals her awareness of growing inner tension. The less the child can explain the tensions, the more excruciating they must be to her. However, this situation is different for the puberal child. The tensions are now so vivid that she can no longer deny them. But—and this is characteristic of the puberal child—she is less able to counteract these tensions by projecting them into violent action or by identifying herself with natural elements and other lively outlets. It seems that other forms of ego defense and emotional outlets have become the center of psychic expressiveness.

A remarkable change can be noticed when we follow the girl's attitude toward work and when we note the objects of reality which she draws. Some girls completely ignore the immediate and objective reality. Few references to their common or daily experiences appear. On the other hand, some girls show an unusually high percentage of concrete, real elements. This may indicate two different reactions: the first type is found in girls who need to escape from coping with objective demands, while the second type clings to these demands, showing repressive mechanisms in the emotional life. They appear to control the onslaught of inner experience by overemphasizing the importance of outer events and concrete observations. Such control is precariously maintained and energy absorbing. Personal needs are simply suppressed in favor of adaptation to outer requirements. In consequence, this trend of carrying through in spite of inner tension is particularly conspicuous in lower income brackets. In the prepuberal stage we were astonished at how ably and willingly this group submitted even to ungenial demands. For those past puberty, however, we recognize the great danger of such suppressive tendencies and the resultant over-control.

On the whole, those who have a high objective zone rate are maladjusted. This absorption and concentration in outer reality and the submission to pressing work is no solution whatsoever to the inner turmoil which now

can no longer be concealed. It is very rare in adult testing that we meet individuals with a high percentage of objectivity on the one hand and, at the same time, with symptoms of severe maladjustment. For the late adolescent and adult, the concentration on objective and concrete reality could always be considered as an indicator of the individual's capacity for coping with the necessities of life, vocation, or whatever else is demanded. For the puberal child such adaptation can exist in a wholesome way, but sometimes this emphasis on outer demands indicates a disturbance. Such girls lack an adequate use of their inner urges. At this age a frustrating and oppressing environment is particularly damaging and probably produces either a curtailment in the use of mental energies or the rigid pattern of a neurotic character.

Those individuals who conspicuously ignore objective requirements (and their test shows a low count in the "objective zone") appear better balanced. They show more inner resources and a better equilibrium between reality and fantasy life. Due to the particular circumstances of the puberal child, the evaluation of normal functioning cannot be done in terms of standard for a later age.

The question "Which picture do you like best and which was most difficult?" produced responses very different from those of the prepuberal. Although these children often share the same classroom, the prepuberal frequently clings to the value "This is most realistic" or "I like it because it is real." The puberal child frequently gives a more articulate reasoning for her appreciation, for instance, "I like this picture because it looks like a dream," or "because it is a mystery" (referring to "dead lady in coffin"). "It is most interesting to draw," or "Clouds and sky are my hobby; I like them very much," "White clouds I like in the open sky." One girl says, "It is original," or "Acrobats—I like the action." Many like the pictures which they drew in the square without lines best and they like it, for instance, "Because it is my own drawing and I know what it is supposed to be." Though these remarks are still relatively short, they appear more versatile and self-descriptive, and we observe a new element in these comments. Their egos stand beside their doing. It is as if they watch themselves, and this results in a conscious appraisal of themselves or in more self-criticism. The latter becomes more pointed the less naive the girls are. It is amazing to what degree and how suddenly this naivete has broken down. "I can't imagine what the lines are supposed to represent," "I couldn't make up my mind," "I couldn't think of anything 'till last" are typical phrases. To this capacity of a conscious self-observation the puberal girls add experiences of an emptiness which can no longer be concealed by overactivity such as prepuberal children can mobilize on the spur of the moment. In consequence the puberal girls start to rail against the lines given: "The lines were not drawn right,"

"I couldn't follow the lines, there are too many," or "It's difficult, it's just a jumble of lines." All this reflects a lack of simple and naive application of their fantasy life or imagery.

This age level suddenly sees the task of "using the lines" as a hindrance to their own productiveness. The given material is recognized as not congenial. "It is hard and too complicated." In this phenomenon there is a reflection of the fact that this girl's relationship to reality suddenly is different, if not disturbed. The lines are representative of demands imposed upon them and therefore are met with irritation. This brings the ego struggle into acute awareness. One girl says "I'm very timid." Another, "I just can't imagine." These continuous remarks about themselves were not found in prepuberty. This capacity for self-observation produced a definite trend of introversion which makes an acute experience of the drama of a sudden physical change. Feelings of insufficiency, of insecurity and hopelessness are the consequence, and they are stronger the harder the girls try to please their environment. Such attitudes color their relation to any work they do and influence their evaluation of any product they see. To the extent to which their concepts of themselves, their inner reality, have become inexplicable to them, self-criticism and devaluation of their activities are found. Automatically their relation to the outer world and their attempts to accomplish something become a means of measuring their inner tensions. They are afraid to express what is going on within them because they have no conceptual scheme with which to understand it. As our table shows, this results in the fact that interaction and action are less used as releases. Also violence and elemental imagery have a unique height in the phase shortly before puberty sets in. The puberal child is much too insecure to reveal her inner condition by such simple explosive elements. Her inner tension plus growing self-criticism does not permit her to use such a direct form of projection.

One is inclined to question what mental equipment permits the development of some ego defense. The amount of original production is less than in the younger group. One can assume that even those children who have the capacity for original productions work under less favorable conditions. They also lack the ability to humor themselves over difficulties. There is little attempt to use a variety of approaches to reality. In their verbal expression they do not show sophistication yet. In fact, the most productive tests are those done by girls like "Julia" who still preserve a typical "childlike" flexibility. "Julia" counteracts her inner tension by overemphasizing childish features.

In puberty some stereotypes provide escape by helping the girls keep compulsively busy. In the puberal girls the conscientious regularity with which the prepuberal still drags herself through the given task is disturbed. She shifts around more on the page. There is a lot of erasing and self-

correcting lines. The girl's technical arrangements are thoughtful. The stroke is less regular, there is a greater variety of stroke, and shading is used more frequently. It seems that the girls wish to try themselves out on something new. Some of them give up and deliver incomplete blanks, not feeling compelled to finish the test. This can only be understood as an escape movement when inner and outer hardships become too pressing.

Again we observe great differences in various schools and social environments. There are those institutions which impress the child with competitive demands. They produce more turmoil and less efficiency, but those schools which reduce demands and let the child express herself produce another symptom of insecurity. These girls appear formless and full of despair. For this age the lack of demands is also a challenge too difficult to bear. If naive and childlike productivity is maintained, one observes many quaint and queer fantasies. Irony occurs occasionally too.

What happens to their human presentations? At first view the glamor girl is almost as frequent as the realistically drawn female. Many fantasy products were difficult to classify as many of them also carry an emotional flavor. The following headlines are characteristic. "A mixed up person, looking," "A worried youth," "A girl sucking straw, defying the world," "Girl dancing off edge of steep cliff." (See Plate VI, picture 5.) Another girl draws "Witch riding." A drawn face is entitled "Boredom." Some sexual hints are present in "Devil and Girl at Halloween." The realistic male is now almost as frequent as the realistic girl while the fantasy male is outdoing the fantasy girl. With the physical event of the onset of puberty, the masculine figure acquires more definite interest. Glamor pictures idealize femininity in a conventional way. "Bride in wedding gown," "Beach Beauty," etc., appear. Often these drawings resemble the girls themselves. The fantasy male has all kinds of positive and negative attributes, with the negative outweighing the positive ones.

Examples are "The gingerbread man," "A tipsy person." (See also Plate VI, picture 4, "Portrait of a Lunatic."³) The active man begins to have an attraction for the girl, for instance, "Football player," "Acrobat," and "Policeman." In some pictures of the male, the expression of ambiguous and morbid feelings is obvious, for instance, "Uncut statue of a person," "Monster eating dead man," "Man without a body." Obviously the girls deal with an incomplete picture of a real man. This is undoubtedly characteristic of their need to suppress sexual curiosity. Old childhood fantasies such as "Man in Moon," "Santa Claus," appear, somewhat ironically, but positive fantasies are attributed to the vigorous sport hero.

A definite increase of sex curiosity is expressed by an enormous amount of phallic symbolism which we assume is completely unconscious. The

³ Hamlet's picture of the "Doctor."

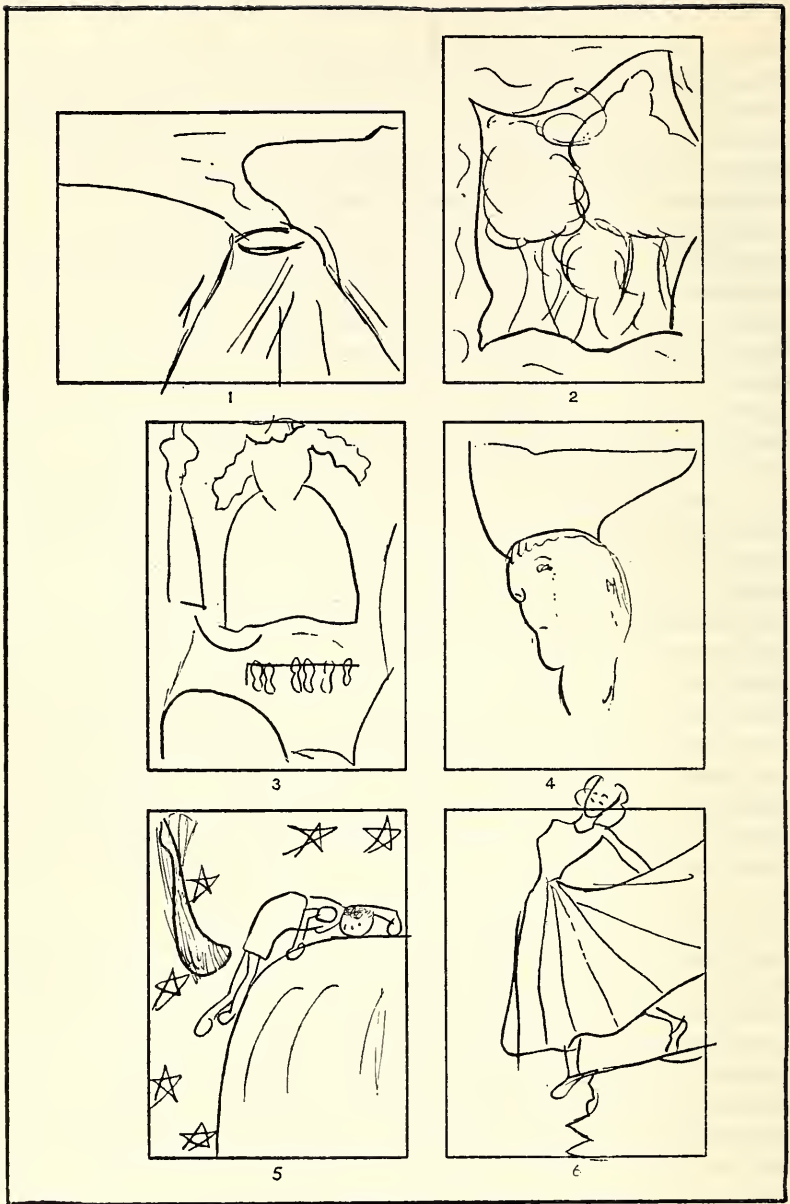


PLATE VI—Horn-Hellerberg Test Pictures Drawn by Puberal Girls

1. Mt. Vesuvius

3. Messy Closet

5. Climbing up cliff at night

2. Forest of Pleasure

4. Portrait of a Lunatic

6. Girl dancing off edge of steep cliff

case of "Barbara" is a good example of the rich variety of unconscious experimentation with the meaning of sexuality. The relation of the two sexes is an object of questioning to them. The girl's own role is still obscure, and real girlish features do not become dominant before adolescence. Probably the phallic symbolism is also a defense against her own femininity, the meaning of which is still unclear to her. This psychological explanation of phallic symbolism may also be complemented by a biological one. It is possible that the physical change brings about a harmonizing of her system which produces tendencies of an aggressive male character. Finally this increase of phallic symbolism may be explained sociologically. Societies which emphasize male superiority in family and community produce in girls what Freud calls "penis envy," the wish to have male genitals. We hesitate to apply this explanation, for there are many groups in American society where female dominance is unquestionable, and rather an opposite trend, a womb envy of the male is suggested.⁴ Yet as our groups are representative of a great mixture of cultural determinants, one finds a variety of male and female symbolism. This can be elucidated only by making a detailed study of the role of male and female in the family where the girl lived until puberty.

In the houses drawn by puberal girls, there were cases where a road leading to the house was larger than the entrance to the house. In five out of these seven cases, the girls were of Italian descent, Puerto Rican, or Southern Negro. The convention of chaperones in these communities is characteristic for these cultural groups. If the road entering the house is drawn broader than the door, the girls may be expressing an anxiety that the male organ would harm them. This is often connected with the compulsive need for showing the doors well locked. We indicated this already for the prepuberal child. Other symptoms of physiological confusion and a vain search for clarity are pictures similar to "forest of pleasure" or "messy closet." (See Plate VI.) It was mentioned before that puberal girls show an increase of "closed-in landscapes." These pictures do not show a free vista but a crowding of growth, with bushes, trees, etc. These pictures look as disorganized as the closet, true pictures of the girls' incapacity to organize themselves in any way and the painful awareness of it. The girl who drew "Forest of Pleasure" gives to this experience a more positive note showing a dawning hope that something good is behind all this confusion. In the prepuberal girl the beginning confusion is indirectly presented by showing elements of nature. In the puberal girl, the conscious awareness of something entirely new in her system creates pain and sometimes a hopeless feeling that all her struggle does not lead to anything. This experience is vividly portrayed in the two pictures on Plate VI, Nos. 5 and 6,

⁴ See Margaret Mead's new book, *Male-Female*, p. 160.

the one girl climbing desperately, the other dancing off the cliff as in a trance. These are themes typical for the puberal girl. Compare also the sad products of the puberal case, Harriet.

From the three cases presented in detail we could excerpt three different solutions to the puberal tensions. Julia swings back to childhood interests. Her fear of going ahead is managed by keeping close to given objective facts. Barbara, two and one-half years older, has no chance to deny the facts of her growing femininity. She searches for symbols which explain her inner events, and dreams and sublimates. The last case, Harriet the negative one, flings in all kinds of haphazard solutions. The most positive sign is her admission of how confused and disturbed she is.

Summarizing the puberal child's relation to reality, one may say that her inner reality is extremely puzzling and confusing. The ego pattern from childhood is more or less shaken. She has a variety of defenses which she can put on and off. The new pattern has not become integrated and the old one is dissolving. She projects an unlimited variety of male and female symbolism. She often reverses her female pattern to male. Typical is the "Queen" which Barbara draws. The queen is throwing her head back, a veil is flying in back of her and she is entering a castle. This may mean two things. One, the girl is looking for security which the castle and all the adornments, dress, veil, etc., of femininity give her. Second, this may mean that she reverses her role and enters herself into a body. This action serves as a male protest; it is an aggressive attack on the partner and a wish, in meeting the sex situation, to emerge as conqueror. Such pictures are typical of the lack of clarity in the role which the girls are playing. They do not know whether they are the receiving or the acting agent, the receptacle or the protuberance. We find an unlimited amount of such symbolic production presenting both tendencies, the male and the female. This may express curiosity, a desire to find out. It is a reality testing of the meaning of their own physiological change. This unconscious attempt to find out appears in even normal girls almost as an obsession, and from this compulsion to solve her inner problems first, we understand the puberal girl's attitude toward outer reality.

Every demand on her is felt as a great burden. The control of inner tension absorbs so much energy that little or none is left for achievement. This brings about or intensifies a feeling of friction with the demanding environment, yet we believe that this feeling of friction distracts her from the inner pressure. This may explain the increase of confusion when she is released from all demands.

Many girls of this age experience a feeling of insufficiency. Feelings of insufficiency cause anxiety. The girls fear that they will fail before they even start to work. Failures in work and harsh criticism of their surroundings reinforce the confused pattern before they start. "Harriet's" irritation

reaches the degree of fury. Other young people show either overcaution or restraint; others show lassitude and refuse to finish. The adolescent and prepuberal girls have easier control and therefore the puberal girl's relation to reality shows a peak disturbance. There is a dual experience; the child notices unacceptable inner disturbances and experiences threats from the outside in the demands which she cannot meet. It seems there is no given prescription or recipe that will enable the puberal child to step beyond this double pressure.

There is still an absence of sophistication which we would define as a means of looking at things or themselves from a distance. The budding of that particular faculty is close to the emergence of a new ego formation. Sophistication helps the young adolescent to obtain mastery over his world, a world which is perceived as disturbing from inside and outside. Before puberty, judgments such as "It's natural," or "I like it because it's real," were positive signs. In puberty we find that things appearing just natural or real is an admission of emptiness. Naturalness or realness is no longer a means for obtaining security. There are too many changes in her self for her to believe in the simple realness of what surrounds her.

New inner images spring up, uncalled for, puzzling the puberal girl. They serve to increase the enigma in her conscious mind. The puberal girl does not attempt to gain distance by mental effort. Instead, she uses common paraphrases, stereotype labels. Yet, they do not always serve the purpose to control the inflammable material inside of her. Her real aim is to solve her fundamental problem of obtaining inner control and regaining some self-security. In a former longitudinal study of adolescence we were able to show, step by step, how this security is gained by individual cases, each in a different manner. Here in our study we must be content to discover that the inner distance from the problems and control over new forces in the child's inner life is acquired approximately in that age level which we chose for adolescent study.

THE DEVELOPING SELF IN ADOLESCENCE AND ITS USE FOR MASTERING REALITY

Let us start the discussion of the adolescent girl with a remark on sophistication. Sophistication has greater meaning and value for the American adolescent than for any other youth of Western civilization. For the European adolescent sophistication is something negative. It is described as a destructive means of depreciating existing values, as a means of recognizing the falsehood and deception of concrete matters. Studying Webster for all varieties of meanings of sophistication, we found that the English definition is the same as the European. Words like "captious critic," "fallacious reasoner," are given as names for the sophist. "Sophisticate" is defined as

to "deprive of genuineness, naturalness or simplicity," or to "disillusion." It also means to "make worldly wise through experience." It is this last meaning which obviously has impressed the American adolescent as a value, as something that he wishes to be. The adolescent interprets "sophistication" by pretending to be worldly wise. It is a refined or sublimated way of hiding the need to oppose what adults have taught him. The adolescent considers himself maturing if he learns by experience to play an adult role. Undoubtedly this is a more positive way of obtaining worldly wisdom than is the way of the European adolescent who fears sophistication and the destruction of his genuineness, needing an open opposition to the standards and traditions of the adult world in order to assert or to find himself.

The American adolescent no longer wishes to be a prey to those whimsical pains inside of him which were produced by his puberal changes. He no longer wishes to be naive but he wants to regain some realistic judgment. Therefore he needs to pretend some experience which has made him "worldly wise." The coeducational training in public and private schools supports this tendency. It often forces the girl to behave more self-containedly and maturely than she actually is. As a matter of fact, American adolescents have developed some customs which provide some "social security." One of these is the prohibition of "cutting in" at high school dances; each participant sticks to his or her dated partner. Thus the adolescent boy avoids the danger of finding himself deserted and the girl avoids being a wall flower. In contrast, the college students permit "cutting in" at dances. The risk is offset by the advantage of a larger area from which to select friends and partners. Because they have greater security, they do not need to pretend that they can hold a friend's interest. The high school girl acts as if she were grown up but takes precautions which enable her to gain her security step by step. This preliminary remark on American cultural patterns may open our eyes to the particular manner by which girls achieve balance after puberty has shattered their inner and outer security so seriously.

First, let us look at the adolescent girl's work attitude and her evaluation of her production. How does she meet the demand of drawing thirteen pictures, twelve with given lines? We find again the value "It's easy." But "easy" is better defined here. For instance, "It looks like the best and didn't require as much energy or thought as many others." This is a characteristic utterance, revealing that most of the adolescent's self-evaluations have more than one aspect. Obviously they wage various arguments, such as "It makes the best sense," and "It's the neatest and best drawn."

The value "easy" stands in relation to the effort used. An example of a negative remark is "I couldn't conclude what to draw because of opposing lines." Lines are opposing because that which she wishes to draw is experienced independently of her ability to draw. Seeing the task as a challenge

is more intensified than in puberty. However, the adolescent encounters the challenge with the freedom of meeting it or leaving it, without the complete and infuriating involvement characteristic for the puberal girl. The criticism of the lines is discriminating: "I can't visualize angles," "The lines are too disconnected, there's no flowing lines." There is much more articulation in describing what they dislike. The new feature which has emerged is that the girls know what they want to do. It is not merely a disconcerting feeling about what they cannot do. "It's most plausible" is used as a positive value. It indicates that their pleasure in adjusting to the lines and in accomplishment has a double character, an intellectual as well as an aesthetic one. When they use the word "natural," they explain it in the following way: "The picture needs least lines and looks most natural; it's balanced right and it looks good when I see it." Here the girl reflects on the balance she has produced and calls it "naturalness." This expression means that she no longer compares her production with real features of nature or with an objective reality. Naturalness is a quality which gives personal satisfaction. They mean that something of themselves has involuntarily flown into the object drawn. The following evaluation characterizes this: "Realistic simplicity, the lines were drawn for me," or "It's my own, not partially predefined."

The base by which these girls judge, criticize or enjoy their own drawings is entirely different from the way the puberal reflected on hers. They enjoy the strength gained in self-expression. "If you're doing creative work, you can't have patterns inhibiting you." This comment indicates that there are three comparative areas on which these girls can reflect. First, the task, comprised of test blank and directions; second, they observe themselves in this process. They can compare effort and product. They evaluate what they can do with the lines and what they can do without them, from the point of view of self-expression. This means that their inner imagery is maintained as an existing reality for them whether they draw images or not. The girls are able to reflect on these images independent of their concrete production. This offers them a broader chance of self-evaluation. They are no longer bound to judge themselves in terms of accomplishment or failure and they can also judge their self-observed projection on which they can reflect elaborately sometimes. The positive judgment of their drawings is their amazement at "fitting." "It immediately makes me think of something I knew," or "It isn't as confusing as others and really the lines look like something."

One may say that these girls have a growing awareness of a clearly visualized goal; their self feeling is not determined by present accomplishments alone. This new feature is parallel to their aforementioned capacity to deal with the social situation without artificially created devices for security or pretensions. We observe a feeling of self that has emerged as an inde-

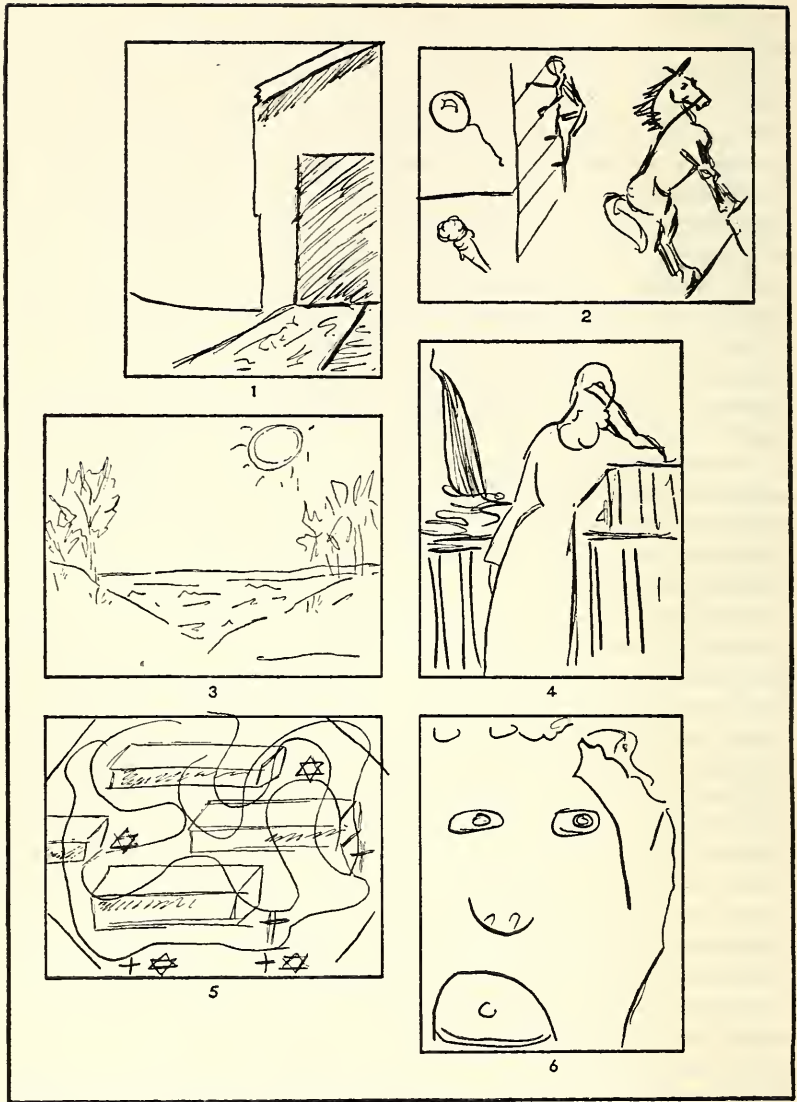


PLATE VII—Horn-Hellersberg Test Pictures Drawn by Adolescent Girls

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Corner of Rancher's Shack | 2. Circus |
| 3. Far Horizon | 4. Dreamer on Board of Ship |
| 5. Together with God | 6. A Dying Prostitute |

pendent factor at least in their self-evaluation. One girl draws "steps leading to success" and she comments. "I'm trying to reach a goal in my own way." This age is struggling toward a new kind of clarity. The girls are aware of demands put in front of them or approaching them from the outside, but they also have a goal for themselves. It is this imagined goal by which they judge themselves. The yardstick for self-judgment is no more, only the demanding outer world, which may be in accord or in opposition to their inner needs, stimulating or crushing them. One girl writes, "I draw what I like and I wasn't desperately trying to complete a few lines someone else drew," or "I couldn't fit the lines well into the design." Both expressions appear "worldly wise" and more detached from the fright of failing. Here there emerges a new kind of security and self-defense toward which the puberal girl did not yet venture.

Their relations to objects and their evaluation of their drawings are both changed. Appraising words are used which are detached from themselves. For instance, "charming," "peaceful." By these words they qualify the objects drawn, scenery or persons. "This brings to mind a charming picture of children huddled in snowsuits," etc. The same detachment is present in the remark, "Man chasing woman because lines suggested an emotional situation to me." Technical reasons are given to justify their associative processes and the emotional contents they produce.

As their sentimentality becomes object related, their feelings can be expressed more openly as something between the objects and themselves, "Spring in park, my favorite season."

The girls are able to compare their own interest with other strivings in the world. This is a feature completely new in this age level. "Mechanics of the Twentieth Century conveys my idea best." This girl uses the advancements of civilization as a means of expressing her own ideas. She observes progress all around her and this progress is a part of her. Another girl draws "Working by candlelight—I like this picture best because it typifies the obstacles which were overcome by scientists." Of course, she identifies with this scientific striving.

In such drawings we realize that the broadening of the world goes hand in hand with some consolidation of the adolescent's self. The girl uses her learning, art, activities, sports, to mirror her own strivings and to test her growth and development. In consequence it is not unexpected that we discover by sheer statistics that these girls have more faculties of release. Drawings of interaction, action, and movement are more frequent than in puberty. This indicates their social maturing. Violent action and elemental outbreaks appear still prominent on the chart that surveys the sum total of the one hundred adolescent studies. However, the differences of this last feature depend upon the social environment, as we will see soon. (See Plate VII.)

The adolescent girl's introspective capacity also has grown. She has realized that urges different from childhood exist but there is a strong wish to master these. She ventures a variety of solutions. We have already mentioned the feature of sophistication which our civilization offers to her. We could draw a clear scale of her sophisticated ways, which are directly related to her social and cultural status. This being the fact, we understand why the less fortunately endowed girls also give themselves an air of sophistication, of being experienced and world-wise. Yet, the prevalence of sophistication in the different adolescent groups varies. See on the table the variety of our rating for this item.

This feature stands side by side with another trend prevalent in girls of less social ambition: namely, the adolescent girl immerses herself in situations, in scenery which emphasize her own emotional satisfaction. Emotions no longer frighten her. There is almost a fostered equipment in such sentimental contents. The "beauty of nature," "flowers," "landscape," "stallion," or "design." All sorts of things may serve as projections of the adolescent girl's own feelings. They express tenderness, prettiness, and other feminine values which the puberal girl hardly dared to approach. Far horizons and rolling hills with outlooks to open, distant landscapes are preferred themes. The distance always has some quality of nostalgia and longing for things far off. (See picture No. 3, the landscape opens to the sea, while No. 4, "the girl in the boat" compares well with the farmer on the picture "Noon," No. 5 of Jean's pictures.)

One is surprised how many city born youths with little contact with nature foster romantic nature dreams. Lower middle-class girls are particularly prone to it. See the amount of horizons in the different adolescent groups and compare this to the younger children.⁵

A third type of reconciliation between inner needs and outer reality is somewhat more complex than the sophistication and the romantic dreaming formerly mentioned. Some girls are keenly aware of an inner incompleteness, and their conscious striving to fit themselves into present day duties is a burden to them. These thoughtful realizations of their own problems lead to a search for "ideals." Through ideas the girls want to improve themselves and, if possible, the world. But by doing so they only try to solve their own problems by projecting them into the problems of the world, mankind, womanhood. The more unsolvable these human problems are, the more the girl succeeds to hide her own. This so-called ideational trend can be a wholesome refuge to gain strength for their own maturing. But

⁵ While the increase of horizons in drawings of adolescent girls can easily be proven, the *meaning* of it became confirmed when we observed that boys with homosexual tendencies and lack of virility often draw horizons in the H-H test. More than one horizon in twelve pictures has been found indicative of some homosexual trends in adolescent boys and adults.

often one can observe reflections which are the results of repressive mechanisms. On Plate VII, picture No. 5, "Together with God," shows the religious confusion of life between different confessions. The girl comments, "The idea of religion and whether there is a Christ or God and whether Catholics, Protestants or Jews are right or whether we've all been fooled, fascinates me." No. 6, "A Dying Prostitute," is a morbid reflection on a social problem which goes far beyond an adolescent's ability to comprehend or to solve. The irrational sadness of this picture has some relation to her own confusion about her womanhood. A stronger degree of this ideational trend often goes together with some schizoid and paranoid trends. In such cases it is clear that instinctual repression has brought about an over-emphasis on mental capacities and intellectual solutions of the girls' problems which force them to a wrong and early sublimation.

A later survey of the five groups of adolescents will show that these three trends are distributed in all groups. Sophistication is fostered more in the social minded group of upper income class, romanticism more by sentimental, low middle class girls, while the ideational girl is typical for the mentally well endowed girl with career tendencies and a pronounced insecurity in accepting her feminine role.

In the more wholesome adolescent we find all three of these trends together: sophistication as an aid in obtaining some social poise and as a necessary pretence, a search for inner security; romanticism as a natural outlet for emotional expressiveness. Finally, ideation or an idealistic flare in a search for the meaning of the world is a trend which supports the girls' struggle to fit themselves into a greater meaningful whole, namely, in a world where one could solve one's own problems by social, religious, and other activities. An overemphasis on one of these trends often goes hand in hand with maladjustment. (See Table 13.)

So far we have described some prominent features reflected in our test material—trends which are characteristic for the American adolescent. In the following we will describe how the social milieu surrounding the girl in the group in which she lives is a strong patterning influence. The five different groups which we will characterize in the following comprise almost five different ways of getting ready for that particular adulthood and womanhood these groups are aspiring for. If we could study other groups we would receive a still greater variety. The values, the ideals, social manners, concrete aspirations, etc., correspond to the social and economic milieu. To support our detailed descriptions, a more complete chart of these adolescent groups is added as Table 13.

The girls of the *Keats Junior College* react toward the task of doing the test with a school-girlish attitude. They feel bothered if the work does not go easily. Their social ambition to become successful debutantes is their first goal. This direct orientation toward their near future does not permit

TABLE 13

AVERAGE OCCURRENCE PER SUBJECT OF CERTAIN H-H TEST ITEMS
IN FIVE GROUPS OF ADOLESCENT GIRLS

<i>H-H Item</i> (interpretation)	<i>Keats</i> <i>Junior</i> <i>College</i> 12 girls	<i>Diana</i> <i>College</i> 34 girls	<i>Elizabeth</i> <i>Browning</i> <i>College</i> 17 girls	<i>Knicker-</i> <i>bocker</i> <i>High School</i> 29 girls	<i>Barbara</i> <i>Allen</i> <i>Wom. Club</i> 8 girls
Objective Zone	41%	39%	41%	32%	30%
Originality Rating .....	.91 (11) (1 girl 6x)	.38 (13)	1.5 (26)	.44 (13)	.62 (5)
Adjustment Rating	3.00	3.10	3.20	3.30	3.00
Sophistication Rating ....	.75	.60	1.00	.50	.50
Single Figures	2.7 (33)	1.4 (49)	2.4 (41)	2.2 (66)	2.7 (22)
Single Heads .....	.91 (11)	1.2 (43)	1.4 (24)	2.1 (62)	2.2 (18)
Total (tens'n, self-consc.)	3.61	1.6	3.8	4.3	4.9
Interaction of People	1.2 (14)	.3 (11)	.6 (10)	.62 (18)	.25 (2)
Action and Movement	2.7 (32)	1.9 (66)	2.5 (43)	.15 (46)	.9 (7)
Total (soc. assertiveness)	3.9	2.1	3.1	2.12	1.15
Violent Action .....	.08 (1)	.14 (5)	.53 (9)	.2 (6)	.12 (1)
Nature Element .....	.26 (3)	.47 (16)	.70 (12)	1.3 (4)	1.0 (8)
Total (release of tension)	1.06	.61	1.23	1.5	1.12
<i>House (symbol of female self)</i>					
Houses without any door	.16 (2)	.74 (23)	.39 (3)	.45 (13)	.37 (3)
Road broader than door	.08 (1)	.10 (3)	.05 (1)	.03 (1)	.25 (2)
Staircase & zigzag road	0 (0)	.12 (4)	.05 (1)	.06 (2)	0 (0)
Fences barring entrance	0 (0)	.12 (4)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Horizontal road into vertical door (closest to marriage) .....	.66 (8)	.26 (9)	.25 (4)	.15 (4)	0 (0)
High houses (masculine strivings) .....	.33 (4)	.73 (25)	.82 (14)	.75 (22)	1.2 (10)
Low houses (feminine strivings) .....	.83 (10)	.88 (30)	.76 (13)	.79 (23)	.62 (5)
Technical vehicles ....	.66 (8)	.67 (23)	1.1 (20)	.75 (22)	.50 (4)
<i>Landscapes</i>					
Horizon (adolesc. fem. longings) .....	.08 (1)	.30 (10)	.67 (11)	.58 (17)	1.12 (9)
Sun (pp. symbol) ....	.83 (10)	.35 (12)	.41 (7)	.48 (14)	.75 (6)
High mountains, cliffs, gorges (male symb.) .	.50 (6)	.52 (18)	1.00 (18)	.61 (17)	.25 (2)
Narrow waters, rivers, creeks (male symb.) .	0 (0)	.20 (8)	.17 (3)	.17 (5)	.25 (2)
Wide waters, ocean (fem. symb.) .....	.58 (7)	.67 (23)	.64 (11)	.82 (24)	.62 (5)
<i>Human Figures</i>					
Fantasy	—female .. .25 (3)	.32 (11)	.41 (7)	.34 (10)	0 (0)
—male ...	1.16 (14)	.55 (19)	1.18 (20)	.82 (24)	.62 (5)
Realistic	—female .. .91 (11)	.82 (28)	1.2 (22)	1.4 (42)	1.3 (11)
—male ...	.83 (10)	.82 (28)	1.00 (17)	.96 (28)	.75 (6)
Emotional	—female .. .58 (7)	.11 (8)	1.1 (19)	.89 (26)	1.62 (13)
—male ...	.16 (2)	.08 (3)	.11 (2)	.31 (9)	1.00 (8)
Glamorized	—female .. .83 (10)	.31 (12)	.35 (6)	.58 (17)	.12 (1)
—male ...	.08 (1)	.03 (1)	.11 (2)	.20 (6)	0 (0)

much romanticism, it explains their high rate in "objective reality" (matched only by Elizabeth Browning College). Of course their objectives—social glamor and conventional ambitions—go together with their subjective wishes. The subjective reality is accordingly empty. A dreamland with far horizons and distant landscapes is almost completely missing. Sentimentality is of no advantage. While emotional expressions are rare, a childlike naivete prevails: "Broken eggs in a nest," "A young colt," "A heart with an arrow," the heart pierced by an arrow. The latter presentation is typical of some conventional platitudes frequently found in the tests of these girls.

Their ego is much in the foreground. "I love *my* excuse to draw an ice skater." They rate highest in action and movement compared with the rest of the adolescents, and also interaction of people is most frequent. This is not surprising. Figures of daily life are seen in lively activities. "Woman hailing a taxi," "The butler," "The maid," they are all busy. Mentally their world is somewhat empty. They derive so much ego satisfaction from their social life that one observes only a medium need for sophistication. This mental gesture of being distant or worldly wise is not so urgent for them as a mental attitude. They play their social roles already and need no "as if" pretense.

This group shows the highest rate of houses with inviting entrances where the roads lead horizontally into the vertical doors. Our symbolic interpretation gives to this constellation the meaning of the "closest to marriage" and the acceptance of a male partner. This real aim which these girls have corresponds to the absence of daydreams and romantic longings which other adolescents express by far horizons and rolling hills in far distance. Only one girl of this group showed one-half of a horizon. Summarizing, one can say that the real female problem is ignored. Their social life solves it for them and this serves as the same protection, as a kindergarten might do for younger girls. As they are mostly well-to-do, they expect that their own wealth or a wealthy marriage will solve oncoming problems.

One girl among them has more serious life problems. She is one of the girls described as an ideational adolescent. Some of her themes are "Indian God of Desire," "Egyptian King," "Dying Prostitute," mentioned before. Social problems bear seriously on her mind. She wishes to reform the world and make a career in politics. There is nothing that she could share with the surrounding group and it seems that this very factor intensifies her symptoms which border on paranoid isolation.

The girls of *Elizabeth Browning College* come from cultured families and most of them of upper class status. They are carefully selected by the school in order to produce high achievements by its liberally conducted and highly individualized education. In this group we find the greatest originality but much more self-consciousness and introverted trends than among the girls of the Keats Junior College. They draw more single heads while

interaction of people is half of the amount the first group shows. In movement and action they rank similarly. Their expressiveness is indicated by trends of outbursts of nature elements, a feature which we observed in prepuberty. This may be a symptom of greater freedom of expression in spite of some ambition, which makes them self-conscious. Only the Barbara Allen Women's Club and Knickerbocker High School have a higher rate in elemental outbreaks. The explosiveness of these college girls may relate to the fact that they show more symbolic identification with an aggressive man-made world. City buildings, technical vehicles, features which we identified in prepuberty as trends typical for tomboy attitudes, are more frequent. They also like romantic single houses which again reveals some interest in feminine and domestic aspirations. It seems that their ideals are equally divided between professional desires, competing in a man-made world and homemaking as a woman. Considering the house, its entrance and the road leading to it, we notice that the girls are not quite so ready for marriage as the Keats Junior College girls are, but horizons and distant landscape appear eight times more frequently for the Elizabeth Browning group in comparison with the Keats group.

These distant perspectives into which they move objects of reality indicate some capacity to postpone their immediateness of aspiration. Their personal aims are not within such easy reach as are those of the first group. We may also assume more capacity for sublimating tendencies, as ideational trends are present but not overwhelmingly so. These Elizabeth Browning College students have the highest rate in sophistication. This does not disturb their productiveness or substitute for real accomplishments. On the contrary, this sophistication seems to help them to cover up some confusion, in a manner similar to that of early adolescence. In spite of tendencies of self-consciousness, we have genuine emotional expressiveness. It seems that self-consciousness does not lead them toward suppression.

The social tendencies to play a role in society are similar to those of the Keats Junior College, but the decisive factor for these girls seems to be more an intellectual ambition. Their value system is definitely more differentiated. Jean is one of these. Her relatively good adjustment is based on a firm rooting in wholesome family relations, which makes her ready for her own marriage. Intellectual or career ambitions are strikingly absent.

The three other groups of adolescents are economically less fortunate than the two already discussed. One group consists of thirty-four students of Diana College. Twenty-nine girls were tested in Knickerbocker High School, which is a public high school and eight other girls in a vocational club, *Barbara Allen Women's Club*. The latter show the lowest rate of adjustment. Their objective reality seems to be neglected. Single heads and figures, a symbol of increased tension and self-consciousness in this age level, is the highest here of all the adolescent groups, 4.9. The public high school

students follow them while the Diana College girls do not show this kind of self-consciousness but have other defense mechanisms. The girls of the vocational club also have a very low rate of interaction between people and movement. They show more romanticism than any other group in their social outlets and responsiveness in social life. They stress their enjoyment of nature. Rolling landscapes and far horizons show the highest rate of all the adolescents. Longings for beauty must function as a substitute for present unhappiness. The real life aspirations are pushed into the distance and not one single house is drawn which shows an inviting entrance or a road leading to it, as in the rest of the adolescent group. We derive from this that the girls are far from a proper marriage adjustment. They have the highest emphasis on vertical structures (high house). Relating this feature to their languid quality, we can guess that they have conflicts in accepting a feminine role. Perhaps the outlook which their social class offers to them does not meet their expectations, and future aspirations have to furnish some substitute. This group and the girls of the high school have the same rating with respect to sophistication. It is less than the city college and one-half the strength that Elizabeth Browning College girls show in this feature. The Keats girls are somewhat in-between these extremes.

The social capacity of the *Diana College* students expressed in action and movement is the highest of these lower class girls, lower in economic fortunes than the first two groups. Yet these girls keep more to themselves in another regard. The interaction between people shows a low rating. Their intellectual control is particularly high, maps and many closures are characteristic for them, and here and there, rigidity. They also use more than the usual number of screens and fences around the houses. All this expresses a need for a natural defense. Their mental control becomes obvious in a particularly low rate for violent action and elemental outbreaks. They certainly would not permit themselves many such primitive responses. The average for both features counted together (on Table 13 described as "Release from Tension") is one-half or less of what the other adolescents produce. Their outlook for marriage seems to be positive in spite of their intellectual control and their caution in being expressive and emotional. Observe the high rate of roads leading into doors. The girls rank even higher in this than Elizabeth Browning College and double as much as the public high school girls. This may not be surprising. There are many girls who marry but continue to study or to work professionally in spite of marriage. The intellectual control which is characteristic for them may be a symptom of the severity of their life struggle and their conscious determination to be a success in the life they have chosen. In sophistication they rate not more than three-fifths of Elizabeth Browning College, which ranks highest from this point of view. General adjustment is close behind the two wealthy college groups.

In the last group of adolescents our study dealt with one public high school of very diversified social and cultural patterns, *The Knickerbocker High School*. With regard to self-consciousness and sophistication, they rank similar to the girls of the Barara Allen Women's Club. Their competitive striving in a man-made world (see the amount of high buildings) ranks them close to the adolescents of the City College. However, the high school girls are far away from marriage as the doors and roads to the houses indicate. And again here we find the same pattern of romantic striving as we observed it in the Barbara Allen Women's Club.

There are reasons for the above description of various adjustment types in adolescence. The older the girls grow, the more it becomes apparent that adulthood and mature womanhood is reached differently in each social class, while the physio-psychological characteristics in the years of prepuberty appear more common to all girls.

In this study for the Caroline Zachry Institute, we are searching for definite characteristics of each developmental level by focussing on the child's way of dealing with reality. We noticed that the younger the child is, the more she shows the pattern presented by family training. The type of school in the social group with which she mixes has not yet exerted a patterning effect to a noticeable degree before adolescence. The family influences seem to disappear somewhat or they are over-shadowed as the adolescent girl more and more adopts a new pattern, namely, that of the social group toward which she is striving.

For the problem of reality adjustment and ego development, it is understandable that certain characteristics belonging to age or developmental levels disappear in the statistics if one studies one hundred children from such different social and cultural areas. Even if the students are of similar economic status, the variety of cultural background is great, as so many first, second, and third generation immigrants remain in New York City. If we would have subdivided the three hundred girls according to their parental background, we could have shown more evidence of this factor of their foreign home milieu and training, which interferes and molds the girls striving to find happiness and to be a success in this New World. However, a discussion of this factor would have gone beyond the frame of the study and must be left to a later publication.

GRAPHOLOGICAL STUDY¹

By META STEINER

The TAT stories, written in ink with the girls' usual pens, were used for graphological analysis. While this proved to be optimal material in some ways, it also had some definite shortcomings. The "stroke" or "line," which are the technical terms used for the structural quality and fluidity of the written stroke, reveals itself most clearly in writing with a double-nibbed pen. In eight specimens this feature was partially sacrificed by the use of pencil or ballpoint pen.

On the other hand, the fact that the girls' attention was entirely devoted to the content, that they wrote speedily, and, particularly, that they wrote in changing affective moods, depending on the emotional tone of their stories, made the material excellent.

As is customary in graphology, the content was automatically ignored, except where sudden changes, breaks, or other conflict indicators pointed out a dynamic relationship between the specific content and the expressive movement.

It should be mentioned that the test showing the highest correlation with the graphological interpretation was seldom the TAT but nearly always the Machover Figure Drawing Test. The MFD is a free expression of attitudes, relating essentially to the body image, while handwriting is more strongly influenced by cultural stereotypes and their subcultural and individual modifications. However, the basic common factor of graphic expression brings into focus the same inner attitudes, although expressed on different levels and in different contexts, as the MFD. For example, self-inflation trends manifested in big figures will probably also be expressed in large and extended letters in the writing. The interpretation of both must be the same:² Self-assertion, which might be either naive and direct, as it is in many young

¹ The basic theory of interpretation of handwritings is still that of Ludwig Klages, as introduced by his book, *Handschrift und Charakter* (16th ed.; Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1936). In particular, the nomenclature of the "signs" is frequently an attempted translation of Klages' "Schriftzeichen." Even though not always optimally descriptive, they have been adopted by most of the graphologists writing in English.

² Karen Machover, *Personality Projection in the Drawings of the Human Figure* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1949).

children, or the compensatory value of fantasied grandiosity in an actually insecure person.

Graphology has the drawback of not lending itself to scoring. Its single features vary too much within one specimen and still more in various specimens of the same writer. Only the mutual relation between the frequency and intensity of various single components are used for interpretation. There cannot be, therefore, any one-to-one correlation between graphological "signs" and "personality traits." For instance, the large size which, as was said before, may be expected as the naive self-expression of a child's attitude toward his world, carries more weight as an individual characteristic at the period of adolescence. Here it has become the expression of a development in the direction of narcissistic exhibitionism. However, the common dynamic remains: a lack of inhibitive self-control, whether primary or compensatory, urges the writer to display himself.

Since we have no scoring system, certain descriptive classifications have been used traditionally in graphology and will be used in this study. They suffer not only the lack of precision resulting from the discrepancy between any reality phenomenon and its verbalized concept but, in addition, the vagueness of descriptive characterizations as compared with a well-defined, though artificial, technical terminology. The graphological categories have remained fairly consistent throughout almost a century of graphological work; they are unprecise and unsophisticated, borrowed from everyday terminology. This makes for simplicity and leaves unspoiled the natural quality of immediate experience in graphological reporting.

For the purpose of comparing the three age groups under consideration, the data were handled on the level of psychological constellations rather than in terms of single graphological traits; so that the problem of attitudes to the sex role was examined from group to group rather than its component factors, since these need not necessarily be the same for each group.

VITALITY

The amount of vital energy, or in Freudian terms, libidinal energy, which a person holds in readiness for whatever experiences he is capable of according to the various dimensions of his personality structure, can be expressed in a variety of ways in the handwriting. Its main manifestation, however, is the pressure of stroke as it develops during the entire writing process. The pressure cannot remain unchanged for any prolonged movement. This would be contrary to basic phenomena of life, which appear to be rythmical rather than constant. Some of them, such as growth and decline, are rythmical only over long spans of time and therefore not caught by the relatively brief movement of writing; they will, however, be clearly indicated as to

the phase of growing in characteristics of entire groups. Starting from our youngest group, indications of growth and maturation definitely increase.

The security of stroke, for instance, increases quite markedly over the subsequent age groups, considerable individual exceptions notwithstanding. Tremorous lines are rare. They occur in two cases which are altogether obvious cases of impaired motor coordination, both in the prepuberal group.

Wavering strokes, however, are frequent. They occur more often in the horizontals than in the verticals and diagonals. This would indicate that the conflict leading to insecurity as expressed in the wavering refers to the social areas rather than to inner-personal ones. (The horizontal strokes are, in our writing system, the ones connecting the more structural downstrokes and reflect attitudes of interrelation and social affect, rather than the downstrokes which are the backbones of our letters and more characteristic of self attitudes.) The two younger groups (PP and P) differ slightly in favor of the puberal group as to the occurrence of wavering horizontals, and the adolescents again have decidedly fewer. This is the first time that we encounter the fact that the psychological growth shows a break between puberty and adolescence, but consistency between the period preceding puberty and puberty. This is all the more interesting, as we might have surmised a peak in the wavering of lines caused by lack of skill in the youngest group, which, however, has not shown up.

It is not the wavering line, but the "clinging" line, the line drawn slowly and without fluency, which occurs more frequently in the youngest group (PP). In some cases this may be due to a lack of skill, namely, when it occurs in combination with other indicators of manual clumsiness; in more than half of the occurrences, however, those clinging lines are independent of such indicators. Then they are clearly the result of psychological insecurity, which forces the writer to follow continuously the lead of the paper, as if there were a risk involved in leaving the touch. This deep-seated need for complete dependence, the fear of letting go the lead in favor of adventure, is very typical for the intimidated child in our youngest group, who is still completely tied to the home, while the wavering in the horizontals expresses more the social fear of the prepuberal or puberal girls, as yet not committed to any one socially required personality role. They are wavering between assertion and timidity.

We can, as was described, see a two-fold development toward growing in the direction of adult writing: The shift from the over-all clinging line to the only partially (horizontally) disturbed pressure of line and the shift in disturbance from clinging to wavering. In terms of dynamics that would mean that in prepuberty we find a maximum number of girls in complete dependency. In puberty the number is greatly diminished, while the feature of wavering horizontals has increased, indicating two trends: No longer

the full personality, but rather its social functions are in acute conflict about which way to go; (verticals have become freer) and the need to remain glued to the primary leader has changed into conflict, hesitation, and reluctance, while tentative steps are turned to the outside world. This is the feature which shows significant differences between prepuberty and puberty beyond any other feature we will discuss. We have an almost steadily growing security of stroke, directly up to adolescence. Although most of the gains occur between puberty and adolescence, there is an appreciable increase between the prepuberal and puberal groups.

While the horizontal line suffers in steadiness and pressure during puberty and adolescence, the vertical line suffers radical changes in size. The vertical strokes are predominantly directed toward the body in normal handwriting, dealing more with a person's relation to himself. In its pressure aspect it is expressive of his vitality; in its size it depicts self-assertion, indicating the dimension one has in his own feeling in reference to his environment. The vitality aspect (pressure) does not suffer at puberty. The self-appraisal aspect (size) does. While the prepuberal girls have, as was mentioned above, a naive expression of their own central position in the family and in their own eyes, the puberal girls show two trends very markedly. The writings grow generally smaller, and they show irregularities in size. The latter characteristic is very striking. It is one of those salient features which enable the graphologist most frequently to discern a writer's membership in her age group.

The relative stability of pressure in the vertical lines in this period, while the horizontals become uncertain, appears to be independent of the socio-economic differences, and this discrepancy is closely associated with the states of prepuberty and puberty, especially with puberty. The size factor shows a different movement. A decrease in size during puberty is marked in some schools and slight in others. Instability of size, as expressed in very considerable irregularity of size, increases throughout puberty irrespective of group membership in socio-economic terms.³

The insecurity of stroke in the verticals, if and where it occurs, is frequently overcompensated for by sudden pressure, so that what meets the eye is not the underlying self-doubt, but the sudden release of energy. This bespeaks

³ H. J. Jacoby writes: "During the period of adolescence the regularity often undergoes considerable changes. Once the prescribed forms have been mastered and individualised the degree of regularity shows to what an extent the child has been able to assert his will power. In the period of puberty, however, when the emotional urges and erotic impulses are getting stronger the handwriting frequently begins to display greater irregularity. Later on, at the age of seventeen or nineteen, . . . the handwriting seems to be under better control, but only after the apprenticeship of the life at school is a more constant degree of regularity required." *Analysis of Handwriting* (London: Geo. Allen & Unwin, 2nd imp., 1948) p. 142.

a deep ambivalence and insecurity, which we realize when they are acted out in spurts of irritability in sporadic acts of irrational nature. Strangely enough, the youngest group shows this sign least of all, while we should expect more temper tantrums among them than in older girls. These youngest girls apparently find other forms of outlets which are graphically depicted in angulations of usually round letter parts. The pressure, so intimately connected with the libidinal aspects of personality, is not frequently used in its modulative capacity by the prepuberal girl. We find the appearance of differentiated pressure first in young girls of deprived families. It appears in the horizontal before it reaches the vertical stroke. This might mean that they show irritability and emotional spasms first in their social contacts. Even before they become disturbed about their own inner difficulties, it seems that they act them out on their environment.

This is not the only factor which arises first in the socio-economically lower groups; one feature, closely related in its value as an emotionality indicator to the eruption of sudden pressure is the exaggerated slant. The righthand slant, too, increases strongly at puberty and increases faster in the economically deprived groups.

The factors of slant and pressure, like most others, cannot be discussed without a discussion of "zoning," which describes the distribution of signs over the various areas of the writing. If we assume that pressure is a direct reflection of a person's vitality, we might expect it to be about equally distributed over all parts of a writing. But this is by no means the case. Graphologists have, almost from the beginning of graphology, noticed that various portions receive rather different treatment in many ways.⁴ Therefore, they distinguished the three "zones": the middle, in which letters such as *i*, *m*, *n*, *u* stand; the upper zone, where *l* and *k* loop and where the *t* is barred and the *i* is dotted; and the lower zone, where *y* and *g* and *j* loop. The pressure with which we write is variously dispersed among these zones by each of us, reflecting the amount of libido invested in various strata of our personality. Letters have their tops and their bottoms which we—somehow fixated to archaic symbolism or to our own body image or to a fundamental relation between both—interpret in an analogous way.

We imagine a baseline for the middle zone letters which we subconsciously consider to be the ground on which they stand. Below them there are the roots, the subterranean portions, as if they were underground. The upper zone, which we reach by stretching our fingers and by moving upwards away from our body center, appears to have a connotation of elevation

⁴ The meaning of the three "zones" is one of the features known to pre-Klages graphologists. It has remained amazingly uncontested and is essential, for instance, in newer experimentations of Werner Wolff. Werner Wolff, *Diagrams of the Unconscious* (New York: Grune & Stratton, 1948). (For the sexual implications of the lower zone performance see page 272, which deals with puberal sex perversion.)

for us. This has been frequently proved by various experiments of the type which Werner Wolff describes in his *Diagrams of the Unconscious*.

Young people in general tend to emphasize the top zone more than older people. They appear to invest more of their energies in the sphere of ideation. They tend towards enthusiasm, theorizing; they show aspirations, at times neglecting reality.

The difference in treatment of the upper zone of the handwriting⁵ between the three age groups of our study is very striking and significant.

The youngest group and a high percentage of the middle group show stronger pressure in the upper zone. Combined with it there is almost invariably a tendency towards inflation of the upper loops.

Two dynamically related factors may have resulted in such upper-zone emphasis. The reluctance to deal with reality, particularly to go out into the widening field of one's environment, may easily result in an investment of energies in dreams, fantasies, and aspirations. The incoming resources, results of knowledge and experience, are swiftly turned into aspirations and theories whose content and extent vary greatly, while the tendency remains quite decidedly constant.

Well-defined aspirations are depicted in clear, moderately high, and well-delineated upper loops. Many of the girls, particularly of the puberal girls, show unrealistic (inflated) looping with excessive pressure. This relates most probably to a specific type of fantasies in which they visualize themselves, on stages or screens, as heroines. More than two-thirds of both younger groups have this trait quite markedly. Less than one-half of the adolescent girls show it to the same extent, while it remains present to some extent, although considerably moderated, throughout all our groups. In only one of the schools, attended by adolescents of very high economic standards but with a relative lack of intellectual sophistication, this trait did not dominate in more than one-fourth of the writings.

It must be stated at this point that in handwriting, as in life, changes take place only very gradually. Traits never suddenly stop appearing. We can hardly find any sample within which not a single upper loop is widened in an exaggerated degree on the same page. This happens even when the writer has a decided tendency toward narrowing the loops. The meaning of this fact is that hardly anyone would not occasionally indulge in daydreaming and in escape fantasies, even though he may be a practical or a calculating character with but little romantic imagery. Likewise, all the traits found in the writings of all our groups are also found in almost all adult writings, only some to a lesser degree. Some of the adolescent girls "re-gressed" to more childish, unrealistic treatment of upper zone in some

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 266. Wolff demonstrates the development of the "directive line" of the upper zone during puberty.

places. Only individual analytic probing could possibly find out whether there is a positive correlation between those lapses and the content of the stories or places in which they occurred. In very few places such a relation was obvious or very probable, arising in words which are emotionally provocative for everybody. There was one girl among the adolescents whose strong inhibition against dreaming was reflected in quite narrow upper loops; the word "love," however, was repeatedly written with a freer looping of the letter *l*.

In all writings features which had at one time, or may have prevailed, will still be present. Therefore, we find writings which present an almost equal number of "opposite" traits, such as deflated and inflated tops. While this fact has sometimes served as an objection against the possible interpretation of handwritings, it is actually a very interesting indication of conflict expressed in movement. Those movements which appear more frequently and are more in harmony with the rest of the graphological pattern have most chances of becoming settled. Frequently the upper zone is the area to which the *pressure*, the expression of libidinal energy, is restricted. This occurs more frequently in the two younger groups. The adolescents, with greater skill and writing maturity, often find more refined means to express their more differentiated interest in the ideational sphere: they have created new forms, simplifications, or embellishments to express more adequately their specific intellectual approach. We find attempts at such individualistic treatment of single letter formations very early, but at adolescence they gain numerical significance and qualitative distinction. They correspond to individualistic needs for self-expression, and are strongly related to intelligence on one hand and to the formation of more clean-cut and better-defined ideas about the self role on the other. Unusual *d*-loops or eye-catching *i*-dots occur in the development of such needs for personalization and for distinction. They reflect differences in taste and in personality levels, in maturity and in capacity for self-expression.

The middle zone, standing on the base line, is the area in which every letter must inevitably participate. Standing between the upper and the lower zones, it corresponds to the body between the head and the legs; it is the bulk of the writing, furnishing its essential characteristics. If we speak about the size of a writing, it is the size of this middle zone to which we refer. The connection between the letters normally takes place in this region, the slanting or verticality of downstrokes depends on the angle between baseline and middle downstrokes. The middle zone has often been called the "reality zone." In most practically oriented and socially undisturbed writers this zone is given the main care and the greatest amount of pressure.

Against all expectations less than one-third of all the girls in all age groups have strong pressure in the middle zone. More than half of them manifest greater pressure-emphasis on either the upper or the lower zones.

Only 11 per cent of the puberal group show marked pressure in the middle zone, while 27 per cent of the adolescents have it. In the youngest group this feature was difficult to differentiate from the above-mentioned "stickiness" to the groundline (meaning that a great part of vital energy is spent on "holding on" to the environment).

Much pressure is used by the prepuberal and puberal girls in performing the lower loops and strokes. The prepuberal girls seem to enjoy experimentation in that sphere particularly, while counteracting trends are noticeable in the puberal group. Evidently the pleasure in movement so characteristic of childhood is still very active in the prepuberal girl, and becomes somewhat diminished in later puberty by the interference of physical concern. It is in puberty that we first see the stunted, sometimes crippled, lower loopings. Stunting affects size before pressure. This means that a reluctance to touch the entire area leading to a shortening of lower loops becomes evident around puberty, while in many cases the pressure, expressing the libidinal intensity, is left undiminished. Puberty does not, however, present the maximum of this evident conflict between interest and hesitation in regard to the sexual area. In the adolescent group there is by far the most frequent occurrence of this combination of signs, the strong pressure together with decreased length of bottom portions. The fact that motor activity and sexual activity are, in the handwriting placed so intimately together, suggests great inner relatedness between these two factors, and also permits subtle differentiations between them. The expectation, however, of a steady development from a prevalence of motor activity towards sexual activities with greater age, could not be verified graphologically. Statistically there was an increase of repressive stunting of the size of lower zone parts starting at puberty. The prepuberal girl does not repress them but rather shows the trend to strong motor outlets of libido.

While the adolescent group restricts the contact with the sexual sphere in the largest number of cases, the regularity of pressure in the same sphere is increasing. That may mean that some sort of poise is achieved by the adolescent, although only by means of a narrowing of the field of activity.

Emphasis on the center zone, which in the prepuberal girl is precluded by her activity needs as expressed in overemphasized lower loops, sets in with strength at puberty and increases at adolescence. The middle zone, being the core and the "reality area," is supposed to be the most important portion of the writing. Yet, in the puberal group, both the upper and the lower regions attract so much of the available energy, that the middle zone becomes relatively neglected. At adolescence this trait is checked by the development of a type of inflation which does not in any great measure occur in any period previous to adolescence and which is the characteristic of narcissistic self mirroring accompanying the performance of daily activities:

it consists in a rounding and inflating of the middle letters, the *a*, *o*, *c* forms, and the middle parts of *g* and *d*. These ovals or circles are frequently reinforced, widened, trimmed-up, and in many ways offered for display. This self-circling attitude is a type of self reference which is different from the simple pressure emphasis of the younger girls to attract attention.

This self-circling attitude becomes most effective if it is combined with the self-indulgence which finds its expression in the pasty flow of ink. When we use little pressure on the pen, it glides over the surface quite evenly, leaving an even trace behind it, thick or thin, depending on its own width. Such writing was called "pasty" by the first French graphologists and has always been interpreted as a sign of laziness and self-indulgence, often of lust and debauchery.

The evenly spread, not sharply edged stroke resulting from using the pen in this way, appears satisfactory mainly to those writers who do not enjoy their own active modifications and the feel of their willed expression of themselves, but are rather indifferent to them. They glide along the path of least resistance, and, when they prefer wide pens, want to see the most impressive results from the least economic investment. Cultures which evaluate efforts *per se*, even if they do not produce optimal results, assume a negative attitude toward the "pasty" writing.

Fifty-three per cent of all our writings have pasty middle zones; 74 per cent of the puberal writings are pasty.

The sensual writer, who enjoys the contact with the paper, likes to give the ink its widest flow. The theory prevailing in graphology has been that the ascetic, the spiritually inclined writer with a domineering superego tends to a sparse use of ink and to a formation and modulation of the writing by the use of pressure.⁶

It must be noted that, while most of the features of a handwriting show transiencies and combinations, this one hardly ever does. A mixture of pasty and sharp strokes in one writing is extremely rare. Changes, however, over periods of life do occur. They seem to indicate very basic changes in life attitude between self indulgent (pasty) tendencies and trends of self denial and self discipline.

This type of pressure is different from the type of pressure-emphasis which may be given to parts of letters even in pasty or smudgy writings, not by a rhythmical change of muscular tension, but by an uninhibited and therefore irregularly released impulsation.

If little pressure is used, and if, in addition, the penpoint is fine or is held in a position to prevent free inkflow, the result is the "thin" or "fine" stroke, characteristic of certain periods in history, such as Romanticism, and not

⁶ Klages, *op. cit.*

infrequent in adolescence. Eighteen per cent of the adolescents have fine writings, while only 4 per cent of puberals and less than 3 per cent of prepuberal girls have them. Whether this sign is related to health concern and to feelings of lacking strength, cannot be ascertained. It has been related to glandular functioning by some writers as a disturbance resulting in devitalization.

If fineness of strokes is restricted to the upper zone, it may bespeak a tendency toward spiritualization, mysticism, and religious feeling, while in the center part of the writing, which gives the writing support and core, excessively thin strokes look weak and feeble. There was a generation which was helped by long, pointed steel pens to write with helpless paleness, but in general men were using more pressure. Now, the fine writing is much more frequent in Latin cultures. In our culture it is rare, though not exceptional. Whether its occurrence in our group was in girls whose cultural background still contained some of the romantic attitudes, was not investigated. In general, we can state from the infrequency of fine writings that the tendency of our girls to adjust to life by voluntary renouncement of vital and physical strength, the trend towards physical weakness as a means of adjustment, seems to be at a minimum in the younger groups. And we may ask ourselves whether the increase of "fine" writings during adolescence, which is rather marked, could indicate the growth of a tendency to use physical weakness as an attention-getting device. It is probable, however, that the 18 per cent of thin writing adolescents includes some cases of actual sickness. When we discussed the pressure in the lower zone, the vitality factor was neglected as such, and only discussed as implied in the outlets of motor and sexual energies.

The subterranean portion of our writing carries our subconscious characteristics, our drives, our subconscious attachments. Handwritings of infantile and of primitive people are frequently weighted down by special pressures in that region. Integration of the bottom portions seems in general the most difficult problem, so that we find many adult writings with imperfectly assimilated lower zone strokes and loops, even though the rest may be fairly harmonious. We would expect, therefore, that in our groups we should find all the more difficulties in integration in this strata. This is actually so. Sporadic pressure in the lower loops, above that used for other parts of the writing, bespeaks the presence of and preoccupation with unaccepted and unchanneled drives.

While pressure in the upper loops is prevalent in the prepuberal group, lower loops carry the greatest irregularity in pressure throughout. Since, however, the same is true for adult writings, the only conclusion we can draw is that the difficulty of dealing with instinctual drives seems to start around puberty; before that period sexual curiosity and daydreams absorb the problem and disturbance-aspect.

A great amount of prepuberal and puberal girls produce narrow lower loops with some pressure, wide lower loops with "sporadic pressure," that is, with irregular pressure. The interpretation would be that at these periods inner stirrings are met with anxious clinging (narrowness and even pressure) or are leading to traumatic types of disturbing fantasies, in which the irregular release of libidinal energies frequently results in twisted and distorted types of lower looping. In the adolescent group lower zone pressure is frequently maintained without narrowness or distortions. Around puberty we find writings with an abundance of lower loops coming down dangling, fine and lifeless. Their frequency in adolescence is very markedly diminished. Whether the tiredness and unwillingness to deal with the problem of sex expressed in these strokes are related to psychic shock or to masturbatory problems cannot be decided; but some disturbance of such nature may be assumed.

There is a constant striving for the establishment of balance between the need to find positive expression of sexual drives and the need to inhibit and suppress them, in order to comply with the requirements of the roles they wish to play and the acceptance they need to gain. The graphological indications of the ambivalence over role acceptance increase most markedly in the adolescent group, while the occurrence of the dysphoric "dangling" lower loop becomes less marked.

Round inflations in the upper zone (fantasy) found together with stylized ornamentations in the lower zone (exhibitionistic needs) indicate that our growing girls seek out their feminine roles from screen and glamour ideals. Sometimes a special flourish or way of treating a letter taken from the signature of a famous actress or actor may be found in otherwise diverse handwritings of many members of a certain school. Alternating indications of neglect, repression, active disdain (combinations of inhibitive and aggressive dealing with sexually expressive areas), along with signs of excessive sexual preoccupation (inflations and distortions) are the rule during puberty, and are still frequent in the adolescent group. Only some—not too many—escape into the devalitized writing expressive of physical feebleness or spiritualization or asceticism. Finally, a still smaller percentage has come to grips with their impulses at least to the degree of balance usually noted in well adjusted adults.

Simultaneously with all these agitated variations in the sexual area, we find the heightened irregularity of all those features expressing self evaluation. It has been stated that the size of middle zone letters, graphologically the size which the writer allows himself within his field, is the most direct reflection of his self assertion. Every writer, however, varies considerably in reference to the size of individual letters as they pertain to various zones. His middle zone letters may be small, the long letters tall; or his capitals may hardly surpass in size the middle letters, etc.

The size of middle zone letters as well as the relative ratio between middle and long parts of letters in both directions are usually included in teaching instructions in elementary schools. Actually, our youngest group offers most compliance with the usually taught prescriptions about ratios. Although there is some trend towards expansion in both directions present, the prepuberals still have relatively the largest middle zone letters. This might be ascribed to the fact that it is the group relatively closest to the teaching period, and which therefore has had the least time to express individual divergencies from the pattern. But also the young child is less experienced in the performance of fine movements. Both factors probably contributed. In general, children write larger than adults; primitive, unskilled people larger than educated persons. Whether, in addition to the psychomotor factors, those of psychological nature are also implied, is difficult to tell. Many graphologists hold that the large writings noticed in children, farmers, and laborers correspond to a certain naive self assertion which people maintain if limited experience and intelligence preclude comparison of achievement and the insights based on it.

Our youngest group, although less skilled in the technique of writing, was widely scattered with regard to intelligence. They wrote larger than any other group, and the occurrence of an almost equal percentage of large writings in schools attended by children of superior intelligence only and by those of other schools—the percentage appeared even slightly higher—seems to counterindicate the hypothesis offered.

While it may be the lack of motor skill and also possibly the naivete resulting from deficiency in comparative power on experience basis which accounts for the larger writings of children and educationally restricted persons, it seems that the size is independent of intelligence proper. We might speculate whether the slight preponderance of large writings in the more intelligent subgroups could be related to the greater security which may have contributed to both intelligence and self assertion, as expressed in largeness of the writing.

There is no meaningful difference in size among the prepuberal girls' writings when compared in terms of schools. Economic security, therefore, does not seem to be significant.

Differences in size between the age groups are striking. In fact, while the prepuberal girl writes large, the puberal girl writes small. The picture changes again and becomes more complex in adolescence. There are some schools in which rather uniform writings suddenly appeared. They are attended by girls of highly privileged family status, who have a large, round backslanting handwriting that seems to have assumed group value, and therefore lost much of its special meaning. In other words, belonging to the

group means so much to these adolescent girls that personality properties show only in more subtle variations of the general pattern.

It is very possible that there are schools for girls of lower ages which teach this type of "high class" writing but we do not have any in our sample study. Therefore, the occurrence of this type of uniformity in the adolescent group may have influenced the general picture toward a preponderance of those features which are characteristic of that type.

Size is one of them, as these girls tend to largeness in the middle zone, expressive of the heightened security and the ensuing pride of the members of that group.

Slant is another factor about which statistics may have been unduly modified by the bulk occurrence of backhand slanted letters in the same group. It expresses reserve and control beyond the necessary degree.

Since we write from the left hand to the right hand margin of the page, the natural tendency is a slanting toward the right side. The uninhibited upstroke is diagonal, and righthand. The following downstroke, drawn towards the body, has the opposite direction. If we follow these impulses in writing according to our system, the "natural" result is obviously inclined. Verticality is artificial, but is required in many of our Western school patterns. It is not easy to perform, and we can frequently observe increased sloping in hurried or in informal writing. Verticality, therefore, represents an amount of inhibitive control over the natural movement. Self indulgent persons mostly find it difficult to achieve this control and therefore tend toward righthand slant, no matter what they were taught to use. While verticality indicates controlling inhibition, the turn to the opposite direction, the backhand slant, overruns its goal. Backhand slant hardly ever occurs before puberty. It is a measure of caution which frequently follows a traumatic experience. In these cases it may turn up suddenly and vanish again. It is consciously experienced by the writer as a choice of taste. It is one of the most obvious features in the writing, and cannot escape the writer's awareness and acclamation; as soon as there is disapprobation it can be changed. (The slant is the most obvious and most controllable of the characteristics and therefore has least value as indicative of unconscious processes; however, by the same token, it gains in value as expressive of the writer's conscious ideals, model, and strivings.) Reserve and distinction are frequent ideals of young girls who feel the full impact of their drives and try to keep them in check by dissimulative measures. Behavioral tradition helps the members of certain groups a great deal. They learn to assume the gestures of security and pretensions of a *savoir vivre* which they do not possess. Actually, we will see the emergence of many aggressive traits from under the facade of the stereotyped writings of our adolescent members of the privileged families. The overcontrol, manifested in backhand slant, is

not natural; it is part of an affectation of style. Some backhand writings occur in puberty, in traumatized individuals with other signs of traumatization (lower zone), or in imitation of some glamorized person, usually accepted by more than one girl in the same grade.

Vertical writings prevail in the prepuberal children, probably because that is the school pattern, possibly also because their age is one of training and discipline in which mental control is a most important factor. Factors of discipline and factors of self expression are mutually repellent. The girls with the trained, uniform writings cannot reach that amount of personality which their contemporaries have gained in schools in which scholastic goals are favored. In these schools righthand slant outweighs verticality of downstrokes, and backhand slant is negligible, where it is not a social phenomenon.

It is interesting to see that the same type of anxieties (sexual and social) which leads one group to seek security in membership, drives the other group into exaggeration of individuality elaboration. We find in the writings of the sophisticated adolescents an accentuation of personal refinements and modifications which reflect at least as much pride in their individuality as the other girls evidence pride in their group membership. While, in general, the size of their writing is reduced, some individual parts become inflated or change their direction. Narcissism here has reached a very high point. In the middle zone, *o*'s and *a*'s and *c*'s are not only frequently widened, but reinforced, embracing much space (fantasy) and each time reinforcing the circular movement as if to build one more wall of defense around herself.

In the upper zone fantasies and aspirations melt together into conceptions and sweeping ideations. In the lower zone which still remains, as we have seen, highly insecure in stroke and irregular in length, we observe fancy forms, often hiding strong aggression. (Angular loops, often ending in daggerlike points, express "masculine protest" in terms of negativistic attitudes to the male.) The prepuberal and puberal girl has usually less aggressive types of masculine trends; her angular (masculine) connections are less restricted to the lower zone; there is more emulation of the male, partial identification, possibly with a still dominating father image.⁷

However, we find usually that the lower zone treatment reflects the person's entire life history. The primitive swollen loops, manifesting sexual dreams and speculations, have not entirely vanished in adolescents. They may still underlie masturbatory fantasies; stunted and lifeless "dangling" strokes reveal sexual fears and an insecurity in dealing with them.

⁷ See Klages, *ibid.*, p. 167, on masculine and feminine character traits (with illustrations).

The girls of the higher socio-economic groups develop a better sense for the framing effect of the lefthand and upper margins than do the less privileged girls. This may relate to training in manners and a sense of conformity and security by displaying them. Adolescent girls keep margins much more frequently than the puberal girls. The prepuberal girls show the same tendency which was discussed in terms of "clinging" and holding on to the paper by an anxious conformity to the rules; this, however, is true only of less than half of them, while the majority spills over the page with as little restriction as possible. There is a strong correlation between this feature and the irregularity with regard to size and to slant. Thus it appears that the young prepuberal girl either assumes an attitude of holding on to the family tradition, an attitude of strong compliance in order to receive the full protection of the family, or we find her in a state of rebellious confusion with a general picture of a trial and error behavior. This latter type is somewhat more frequent in the girl of socio-economic privation, but the school with the presumably optimally protected girls has more of that type than one with a more mixed population. The noteworthy fact is, however, the coincidence of absent margins and irregular features, particularly in the prepuberal group, because this coincidence is less frequent in the adolescent girls.

Among the adolescents we find many more writings with inner control (regularity), independent of or at least not obviously related to social restriction of behavior and manners as reflected in the treatment of margins. (Only the top and the lefthand margins are included in this consideration, because the other two margins do not necessarily express the same trends.) The youngest group, it must be said, shows most intra-personal variations with regard to margins, in that even those with strong inclinations toward wide margins may at times be unconcerned about them, evidently when they become deeply engrossed in the content of their stories. Such inconsistency bespeaks flexibility and appears a positive indication of adjustment in terms of greater spontaneity. The middle group (puberal), although in general on the constrictive side (smallness, narrowness), presents the least amount of wide margins. It may be that at this period the formalistic outside pressure of code behavior plays a relatively minor role, while the inner pressures set the tasks. This seems, however, too glib a generalization, and is meant to touch the truth rather than to reveal it. There are many indications of felt outside pressure in most of the puberal handwritings, and the specific meaning of margins is not clear enough for safe discrimination between those cultural pressures which do and those which do not have strong effects on the puberal. Yet, it can be said that there is less concern among them for the track beaten by their family tradition. The question is whether we can assume some degree of homogeneity in emphasis on formal behavior and on manners across our groups.

If we contrast the neglect of wide margins in the puberal group with the peaking of narrowness at this period, we may be inclined to conclude that the general constriction in the puberal girl is beyond the constriction at other periods due to anxiety arising from within and less to the pressure of outside demands. It would, then, be the result of the girls' inferiority feelings and fears of physical inadequacies as they impinge on them from within and immediately, and only to a lesser degree depend on social factors.

The dissatisfaction and tension which characterize the puberal group manifest themselves also in the peak of angular middle zone connections at puberty. Angular, instead of the round edges which are required by all our school patterns, come up early in the prepuberal girls. The general appearance of the handwriting of the youngest girls, however, is round. It mirrors the pleasing, childish attitude, with tendencies to self-satisfied exhibitionisms. The first incidences of angulation appear in the bottom zone, as previously discussed. The middle zone is dominated by "garland" connective strokes which, round on the baseline, give the friendly impression of welcoming garlands, to which they owe their names. Among the most drastic changes at puberty there is that of frequent angulation in the middle zone. Handwritings of complete and regular angular connectivity spring up in puberty for the first time; they become frequent in certain, stylized writings of early adolescence. The most common among the puberal connection-forms, however, is a mixed type with frequently inserted sharp angles, often emphasized by short pressure. Irritability and short-lived, sudden determination is thus depicted, a pseudo-determination, rather, which has no goal but results from sudden impulsion. In adults angularity is frequently an expression of a capacity for clear-cut decisions; it occurs then in combination with regularity. The simultaneous peak, however, of irregularity and angularity depicts extreme uproar and conflict.

In the adolescent writing the angles are usually less pronounced, and their occurrence is regularly linked up with certain letters or parts of letters. Their frequency at the ending of words alone has diminished. In this location angles bespeak behavioral motor aggressiveness, and the word endings are the first places where angularity becomes frequent in the prepuberal group (in the middle zone). The adolescent girls appear to absorb these direct aggressions again. In the puberal group this emphasized end-aggression is in strong contrast to the narrowness with which it nevertheless frequently occurs. It denotes an intimate unity and interrelationship between anxiety and aggression, but cannot help us to understand their mutual dependency beyond this striking coincidence: In all handwritings, far beyond the limits of our study groups, there is a very definite interrelation observable between narrowness and sharp, sudden release movements. But it is at puberty that this syndrome suddenly appears almost dramatically.

Frequently angularization has been interpreted as specifically masculine.⁸ When found in female writings, it was considered expressive of masculine protest or a trend toward masculine identification. If this is correct, puberty would be the period when it reaches its summit.

The social insecurity felt by our girls is also clearly illustrated in the instability of the baseline, which is a predominant feature constant throughout all our groups. Close to 90 per cent of all specimens show some instability of the base; 73 per cent show very marked fluctuation. This feature is extremely variable. Some writers show few places of wavering, but an extreme degree of it once the control is loosened. Others present wavering baselines throughout. They all seem to feel some degree of precariousness, but only some can handle these feelings in a more flexible manner. Others tend to rigidity but suffer collapses. A few girls, apparently independent of age, enjoy the security of definite beliefs. Most of them, but not many, are prepuberal. No explanation can be offered for the presence of straight baselines in some writings, about equal in number throughout all age groups. Eight per cent of all writings have rigid compulsively straight baselines; some look as if they were drawn along a ruler. These are attempts to use outside rules and regulations for security purposes without their integration into the personality. Such rigid lines frequently do not succeed in avoiding the general uphill or downhill trend of the entire base.

Uphill and downhill trends have generally been interpreted as related to elative optimistic general moods, or despondency and pessimism.⁹ This interpretation is true only in a rather broad meaning. Yet, on the basis of this sign, we find an incredible amount of gullibility and flying optimism in the middle and oldest groups, particularly in the underprivileged schools. Some of their writings (only about 3 per cent adolescents and 4 per cent puberals) depict by a combination of pastiness, fantasy inflation in loops, and utmost uphill climbing of baseline, a dangerous susceptibility to sexual excitement. They have a counterpart in those girls who show pastiness, distorted and emphasized lower loops, and very disturbed, falling lines. In most of these cases the middle zone is irritable, irregular in size, or very small. These writings seem traumatically deranged with signs of agitation and depression present. The traumatized girl apparently does not lose her unrealistic, sexual imagery but reinforces it. Six per cent of the adolescent group and 5 per cent of the puberal group show all the marks of traumati-

⁸ Klages, *ibid.*, p. 82 (translated by this writer): "The child is comparatively more rounded than the aged, the woman more rounded than the man, the Asiatic more rounded than the European." Later, same page, Klages states: "We experience the angle as relatively firm, determined, and hard; the curve as more fluent, soft, and obliging."

⁹ Klages, *ibid.*, p. 133; Jacoby, *op. cit.*, chap. 11, etc.

zation. These girls seem more absorbed and less active than others. Among the prepuberals the entire syndrome of traumatization could not be easily observed, because the lack of skill and the type of sexual fantasy life prevailing in their writings made differentiation difficult. The main and most prominent graphological features of the traumatized writing are the lack of tension, the lack of active defense, the collapse of vitality with retention of sensuousness.

The falling baseline is by no means always part of the traumatic syndrome. More often descending lines occur in combination with reactive smallness as indications of general inadequacy feelings and depression. This happens in the more intelligent group frequently as the result of disappointment and frustration. While smallness is more frequent at puberty, the combination with the falling baseline is seen more often in adolescent girls. Also it seems that the intellectually less endowed girl has better chances of escaping into dreams, while the more intelligent girl tries to re-evaluate herself after frustration—and falls easily into depression. Her more accurate adjustment seems to produce great hardship in the adolescent girl. The less inflated the upper loops, the more shrinkage we find in the middle zone. A trend to withdrawal becomes noticeable. Certain colleges with high scholastic goals and middle class population show a very high occurrence of dysphoric writings.

The simplifications of letter forms, which become frequent among the adolescent girls of that group and type, show self-awareness and an attitude of self-idolization as countermeasures for disillusion. A trend towards introversion becomes evident. Individualization of letter forms, which was playful or imitative at the level of prepuberty and did not play an essential role during puberty, becomes an outlet for self-experience tendencies at the stage of adolescence. The frequent downhill movement of the line appearing even in those girls who use the stylized "upper class" writing mentioned before, seems to indicate a very general feeling of disappointment. Belonging to certain groups, it seems, is very helpful during the period of growing up, but cannot prevent subsequent disillusionment. There is a feeling of emptiness in these stylized writings.

Preoccupation with the self, including the physiological self, which was very marked during puberty (lower zone emphasis and differentiation) shows up again at adolescence, although not with the same intensity and offering different solutions. The lower loop treatment shows more frequently lefthanded tendencies different from the mere inflation of the immature sex dream. All sorts of ornamentation arise, but also suppression and neglect are not infrequent. The inadequacy feelings, which are more general in feeling tone—although possibly not in genesis—during puberty, are subjectively definitely connected with sexual failure. Lefthand rotations of

lower loops become more frequent. It is probable that the emphasis on the lower zone at that stage is related to a loss in glamour aspirations. Although dreamy upper loops are still numerous, they are, as a rule, less ornamental and affected than in prepuberty and puberty. The tentative gesticulation of the prepuberal and puberal girls, the imitation of adult features with ostentatious exaggeration, have no place in the adolescent writing. Some of the movements have become an integrated part of the writing which looks more mature, others were omitted. Flourishes spring up again sporadically, but they lose importance. Readymade traits, letters, movements are still taken over on a conscious level in identification with some hero or heroine. But such occurrences lose importance; the writings have more personal character than before. The insecure, clinging line of the prepuberal girl is nowhere found in any adolescent writing. But, while this indication of childish dependency on the environment has disappeared, others have not. Some of the widened lower loops reveal that the primary sexual fantasies are still lingering. However, they are less frequent and alternate with more controlled (narrow) loops and with other variations of sexual preoccupation.

Some graphologists hold that pressure in the horizontal line indicates masculine tendencies.¹⁰ Such pressure comes up very frequently and at all ages. Whether this is related to the fact that there are masculine trends present in all girls cannot be decided, particularly since masculinity is such a vague concept, uncertain of definition. A strong desire for determination and independence occurs in puberty with the shift from the clinging line to the "pressure"-invested line. Much of the pressure actually is given to the horizontals. This fact was interpreted as an attempt of those writers to relate socially, to cathect the environment in a wider sense after having renounced the complete dependency on their family (clinging line). It seems natural that new ways for contacts should be sought and sought with powerful striving. This is reflected in the stress on horizontals.

These horizontals may often show a punctuation of emphasis, an unevenness of pressure, which is the indication that the striving for contacts has obtained a note of hostility, of demand, petulance, aggression. The transition is subtle, often not traceable. The indefiniteness of such "signs," while an obvious shortcoming, is the accurate reflection of the transition in actual dynamics which they depict.

It is very interesting to follow this trait through our groups. While there is no difference traceable in frequency of occurrence, fine qualitative differ-

¹⁰ Pulver, in his *Symbolik der Handschrift*, calls horizontal pressure displaced, and interprets this feature as an overemphasis on planning. Alfred O. Mendel, in *Personality in Handwriting*, feels that such displacement is characteristic of "fussy women," while Klages and all his followers emphasize the element of activity in pressure, particularly in horizontal pressure.

ences do show. There is more of the evident "clinging" dependency in the horizontals of the younger groups, more of the sharpness and of criticism in the adolescents. But graphology is not yet ready to describe these differences clearly enough.

It can be stated that distortions in the upper zone are decidedly less frequent than those in the lower zone. If they occur after puberty, they seem to indicate pathology. Disturbances in the lower zone occur at all periods, particularly at puberty. They indicate difficulties and attempts to solve sexual problems which are not necessarily pathological. They appear as the results of traumatization, more during puberty than at other periods, but not exclusively so. Narrowness, likewise, the most pronounced indicator of anxiety, occurs in all periods, and peaks in puberty. It reflects a fear to expand, a fear of the future; it uses introvertive means in order to ward off the threat of life. Introversion as expressed in narrowness is prevalent also during adolescence, although puberty evidences it more pronouncedly.

However, the question arises whether introversion may not be a positive sign of adjustment for the puberal girl, who has to narrow her libidinal investments in order to avoid the surplus of frustration which leads some of them into traumatization.

A certain amount of introversion appears to be one of the healthy mechanisms encountered in the course of the development of our girls. At all times (numerically, but not in intensity) but most noticeable at puberty, tendencies towards withdrawal from the outside emerge (narrowness, lefthand trends).

The question is, whether they are unhealthy in the sense of autistic withdrawal of libidinal investment. While, as has been stated, more writings of the puberal group show introversive traits than of any other group, the writings of the adolescents manifest such traits more accumulated and more drastic, although less widely dispersed. That is, while fewer adolescent girls appear introverted than puberal girls, introversion in adolescents is more dramatic, may be more dangerous. While 88 per cent of the puberal girls write narrow, not quite 50 per cent of the adolescent girls do. But it may be that reduction of the field of action, as expressed in narrowness and leftward tendencies in the writing, is often a highly successful reaction to traumatizing, and even to merely frustrating experiences as they are bound to occur in the process of growing up. In some cases withdrawal may be necessary for future reinvestment, and an introversive period, therefore, need not constitute an undesirable condition. At the time of adolescence most attention is directed toward the development of upper zone portions. Intellectual matters, interests, theoretical problems appear to clear up or at least to become meaningfully rearranged during that period. The same thing does not happen to the lower zone; it would seem that the instinctual sphere

reaches much less maturity, remains much more uneven. While this remains true apparently even in adulthood, the great display of intellectual activity is a striking feature of the adolescent writing. That might mean that only after the ideational control features have developed, can the process of cultivation reach down to the biological and social spheres which have to follow, inverse to the somatic development. This is, of course, a generalization which follows a direction to its remotest point. Anyway, the greater relaxation which permits greater emphasis on the egocentrifugal up-movement in the writing of the adolescent girl, denotes greater freedom in intellectual matters. In the middle zone, the increase in width suggests the same trend for freedom, although not quite as marked. Security about social and emotional relations seems to be reached with still greater difficulty than intellectual security.

The development of lower loop treatment is different and very complicated. Sexual self indulgence is so tightly followed by restraint—and by guilt mechanisms, that we find almost all the stages of both in closest juxtaposition over all the age groups. Constriction in length together with pressure emphasis are very frequently observed; so are long lower strokes with helpless, thin, and tentative lines.

It can be said that gross sensuality, expressed in pasty, splotchy, and smeary lower zone treatment, does not occur markedly before puberty. Also, more refined nuances in the shading develop later in adolescence. These, however, are very general trends only, which clearly cannot be followed up. Puberal writings show greater fluctuation as to length, less as to pressure; but splotchiness occurs quite frequently. This may have some relation to guilt feelings connected with the sudden upsurge of sexual stirrings.

Inflation of lower loops becomes much more prevalent in prepuberty, and does not decrease in adolescence.

The free flow of line, combined with natural slant, slight width, and well developed upper and lower protrusions, is extremely rare in any of the groups. That means that the unimpeded spontaneity, with sufficient control which appears to be the mark of what we call "social adjustment," hardly occurs in girls of the age under investigation. As a result of felt failure to meet the demands of society, tensions arise in every one of the writings. They reflect insecurity and inadequacy feelings. It depends on the narrower environment of the girl whether the tendencies towards withdrawal and towards depression, which arise in reaction, are behaviorally expressed in compensatory affectation and pretended glamour, by "cynical" oversophistication, or by indulgence in *Weltschmerz*. It is, however, evident that age also plays a definite role in the development of trends. Whether biological factors are directly contributory or only effective through the self attitude and the social attitudes with regard to the process of feminine puberty, could

not be ascertained. We could not know whether the clustering of ink, which is technically called "smeariness," is a direct expression of motor difficulties on the basis of biological characteristics. Klages¹¹ has pointed to the fact that certain swellings of stroke have been observed in the lower loops of handwritings of puberal girls and of menopausal women, and later graphologists have added findings about similar disturbances in women with uterine diseases. Although the focal localization of all those processes in the reproductive female organs has led many graphologists to believe in direct and immediate connections between these organs and the motor system involved in the movement of writing, such immediacy appears rather naive to this writer. The interrelations seem much more complicated. It seems that the self-attitude is the factor which is best expressed in the handwriting. Therefore, we can observe the effects on her, of her age, of being a girl, being a member of her group, a part of our society. If, however, it is true that physical illness is manifested in a writing irrespective of the fact of its realization by the writer, so that not his fears or symptoms, but actual biological facts were reflected, the whole theory of graphology would have to be attempted on a more biological basis. As it stands now, no such explanation can be accepted. Actually, "swelling strokes," the traditional earmark of puberty, have been frequently noticed in both the puberal and adolescent groups. The quantitative degree of their occurrence, however, was not ascertained for the following reason:

If the presence of only one such loop is accepted as a positive occurrence, this trait would be present in over 90 per cent of writings in all groups. The degree and the number of occurrences vary so much that only careful study and quite exact demarcation in the description could yield results.

It can be stated that puberal girls show such swellings quite frequently but many of the adolescent girls and about as great a number if not more of the prepuberal girls present it. This may or may not be significant. The swelling stroke may have some relation to the onset of puberty, but the physiological and particularly the psychological implications of menstruation are too indefinite to be correlated with indefinite graphological signs.

While no such "signs" of puberal stage could be secured by our study, it can be said that there are typical problems and conflicts reflected in the handwritings of girls around puberty.

Tensions and conflicts are quite certainly more pronounced than they are in the general population. The socio-economic groups vary markedly with regard to preferred defenses. Daydreaming is the one most frequently used—on various levels and with different degrees of reality remoteness. They are more cliché in the younger groups and in the under-privileged groups

¹¹ Klages, *op. cit.*

in whom they evidently have more of a substitute character, while they have more of a stimulus character for the more mature and for the more sophisticated groups, as well as for the girls from socially higher levels. In them the inflated enclosures in the top and at the bottom of letters gradually grow more individually shaped and less empty, or they may shrink into more normal dimensions.

While intellectual maturity and sophistication are clearly approached and, despite considerable oscillation, are gradually approached, emotional poise is not linear in development. There are all degrees of yielding and of constriction reflected; attitudes are inconsistent and intermixed.

It appears that our women feel, as they are growing up, that our culture has little security to offer them.

INTERPRETIVE SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

For the whole group of 300 girls the study gives evidence of more frequent and more severe emotional disturbances in these girls than was anticipated, especially in the area of interpersonal relations which apparently give rise to an intensely introversive pattern, of preoccupation with personal perplexities, feelings and fantasies. These girls, especially the two younger groups from widely differing social-economic levels and ethnic-cultural backgrounds, appear, in some of the tests and with few exceptions, to be unhappy and tense girls.

Also, there is evidence that the activities of these girls, especially the two younger groups, arise chiefly from a strong desire to please, implying a lack or a denial of personal desires and interests or from a strong, even frantic, need to feel alive that is expressed in conscious forcefulness, even forced fantasy. These attempts at extraversive activities are often meaningless and have no significant relation to the personality of the girls exhibiting them.

There is also evidence of serious personality distortion, of severe trauma (probably sexual) among the girls of the lower social-economic groups. When these girls of lower status are not traumatized by their home, family, and neighborhood experiences, they are more relaxed than their socially superior contemporaries and are less ambitious.

Among the prepuberal and puberal girls the "frightening mask" in all its variations is a popular response to Rorschach cards, indicative of the pervasive fear of life among these girls.

The girls of the middle and upper social-economic groups show the effects of the continual pressures they are under from ambitious or intellectual parents, often re-enforced by idealistic teachers who spur them on to academic achievement. Some of these girls are highly intelligent and capable with a wide range of knowledge, but they are anxious and tense, and show little desire to mature as feminine personalities.

The girls of the two younger groups especially show a definite fear of growing up, a lack of objective contact with the world, although some are highly objective and factual. They rely upon authority for protection, are attached to and dependent upon their families, as might be expected of younger girls.

There is evidence of considerable confusion about the feminine role and many difficulties or resistances to acceptance of femininity. Here it is noteworthy that the acceptance of the feminine role occurs more frequently among the non-traumatized puberal girls of the lower social-economic groups. In all these social-economic levels, high intellectual capacity and performance seem to counteract or block acceptance of the feminine role, especially since intellectual activity is generally considered masculine.

It appears that these girls are caught in a conflict between maturing as young women and their almost compulsive need to conform, to win approval. This usually involves denying, yet being responsive in many ways to their sexuality, being feminine in the ways that are important for their group participation, but not accepting their female functions and potentialities.

The younger girls especially incline to the glamor girl which offers a socially approved stereotype for girls who can assume all the prescribed manners and patterns, the cosmetics, grooming and glamorizing techniques, plus the required dress, speech, and gestures, without having to identify themselves with the feminine role or accepting the privileges and responsibilities, the rewards and costs and the emotional responsiveness and fulfillment that the more superficial and less sincere glamor role avoids or denies. The glamor girl pattern is continually presented for their emulation in all popular printed materials, the movies, radio, television, fiction of all kinds, advertisements, and photographs and hence offers an ever present, highly approved pattern to follow. Moreover, the glamor girl pattern provides much needed outlets or channels in which the girl may seek prestige, enhanced status, and exhibit sophisticated, precocious conduct that she is otherwise incapable of mastering without the aids and appurtenances and the stylized speech and gestures of the glamor cult.

This reluctance to accept the feminine role with frequent resort to the glamor pattern may be interpreted as an indication of the contemporary confusion and conflict facing all women today with the passing of the older definition and patterns of feminine living, especially in marriage and child bearing. It is probably also related to the changing patterns of sexual relationships among adolescents, especially the practice of "dating" which has been described as often a highly stylized meeting of girl and boy, each of whom attempts to provoke the other while resisting such approaches. This practice may demand a conscious repression of feelings or spontaneous responses and favor the "glamor girl" for her enhanced provocation to the male and for its stereotyped, and therefore defensive, patterns.

The study indicates a general fear of sex and a growing concern with their own maturing sexual capacities, not always consciously recognized. These concerns are revealed in the girl's fantasies and daydreams which

are altered by her own sexual awakening after puberty and her exposure to increasing masculine attentions, by sharing confidences with other girls and by her increased awareness (self consciousness) of her own maturing body, her dress, and her changed relations with others.

As the girls grow up, their relationship with their families changes from the close dependence and reliance of the prepuberal girl upon her family as protector and guide to the increasing independence (or attempts at emancipation) in the postpuberal girl who shows less acceptance of her mother and family code as she seeks approval and acceptance of her age group. Then in the later adolescent girl, the break in the former close ties to the family has been made except for those who still are dependent upon the home and are unable to accept the privileges of more mature living.

These girls exhibit a considerable range of attempts to meet the problems of growing up, of undergoing the inevitable transformations during the second decade, where they are struggling to direct their functional needs and impulses and their emotional reactions into channels that will satisfy the demands of their enlarging world and also bring some fulfillment of their own individualized requirements, goals, and feelings. The demands of the world may dominate their own personal goals at one time and then be subordinated to the personal at other times.

To arrive at some resolution of these often conflicting goals, they explore various areas and activities, utilize a variety of vicarious and surrogate activities, rely upon many forms of compensation, and release and employ many symbols and symbolic activities that are psychologically significant as equivalents of what they believe, think, and feel and of their many naive impulses that can no longer be directly expressed.

PREPUBERAL GIRLS

These girls had not begun to menstruate, but were already well beyond childhood. The tensions and disturbances, usually associated with puberty, had already begun and were intensified in the older girls in this prepuberal group who were closer to the menarche. As emphasized in the several chapters, the prepuberal girl is frequently upset and exhibits many signs of internal disturbances before reaching the menarche. This suggests that the well recognized upheavals, stresses, and strains may begin in the prepuberal years. Those who had passed the menarche did not exhibit in the projective tests the same kind of disturbance but revealed their often more serious difficulties in other ways.

It is, therefore, possible to conceive of this prepuberal period when the maturation of the reproductive organs is taking place, along with all the

other transformations that accompany sexual maturation, as a period of increasing tensions. The onset of menstruation and the recurrent functional process may relieve some of the acute prepuberal tensions, but after puberty the girl faces new disturbances and serious problems, requiring different activities and attempted defenses or solutions as described later.

In general these prepuberal girls are active, self-assertive in a naive (not reactive) fashion, with much of the interest in the surrounding world of their earlier years; but already they are undergoing alterations in their outlook, their concerns, and their feelings. While they showed considerable aggression, especially the lower social-economic group, they had the least hostility of all three groups.

There are many indications of an inner explosiveness, of suppressed violence in these girls who utilize various outlets of symbolic release and of expression in disguised forms. These inner tensions give some clue to the frequently observed prepuberal, disorganized behavior, the difficulty of focussing upon specific school tasks, and the often baffling shifts in mood and responsiveness with fluctuating thresholds of sensitivity.

There are also indications of a feeling of anticipation, of expecting something not clearly realized, together with considerable concern over their own body and their normality, as has been noted by others. These preoccupations interfere with their social relations and are frequently projected into the outside world which thereby becomes alarming or at least not trustworthy and hence is regarded as something to be feared.

But the prepuberal girls show more spontaneity of emotional response than do the puberal girls, both groups, however, giving restricted responses to color (Rorschach) indicating that some of the spontaneity of childhood has been lost or constricted during this period.

Their activity is chiefly an outlet or release, not a drive or thrust for goals and is often guided by a need to please others or to feel alive, as if to balance their withdrawal and introversion.

These girls have little self-confidence, being burdened with considerable conflicts and anxiety which is expressed in withdrawal and introversive responses. There is much dissatisfaction and also depressive attitudes that indicate a pervasive unhappiness and tenseness.

The girls have few or weak defenses, and their irritation and dissatisfaction appeared in tears and tantrums or their equivalents. But in order to escape criticism, they are often very cautious, guarded, alert to the attitudes of others, indicating anxiety about their ability to meet demands or expectations of others.

There are indications of much day-dreaming and fantasy, of weak fulfillment, of a substitute world in which they can withdraw for escape or

defense. These fantasies are not always creative and, except among the girls of lower social-economic status, are not usually very realistic.

While often shy and tentative in expressing their interests, those prepuberal girls are generally oriented to the objective, social world, submissive to authority and, when religious, regard religion as protective.

This group of girls does not have serious doubts about their ability to accomplish a given task. Their very eagerness to do what is required limits or restricts the freedom and spontaneity of earlier years. Thus they work by setting definite tasks for themselves, relying upon their previously acquired and socially accepted skills for achieving what is now expected. They are likely to resort to stereotypes and humor when facing difficulties they cannot master or handle naturally and they may search for artificial solutions about which they can boast. When they are unable to do what is required and their previously acquired capacities are revealed as inadequate, their self-confidence is shattered.

Those who are ambitious (usually fluctuating in intensity and aims) and exhibit competitive rivalry seem to be under parental pressure to achieve, especially in the upper socio-economic level. The achievement of high academic status is accompanied by considerable strain and anxiety that is less or even absent among the more relaxed, less ambitious girls of the lower social-economic group.

Few prepuberal girls have any definite professional or vocational aspirations; they look forward to marriage or to careers in entertainment or other activities calling for personal display. Thus, these less mature girls are centered on their interests, their standards, and their loyalties in the home and their personal family. To some extent they are fixated upon their parents upon whom they are dependent and to whom they look for protection. They identify with their mothers and have strong attachments to their fathers, whether they are warm and permissive or rigid and withdrawn. They show either passive compliance with family requirements, especially in the upper socio-economic level, or confused and aimless rebellion on the lower socio-economic level, so that in this prepuberal group the maladjustments and conflicts arise frequently from over-dependence and passivity to parental demands or from the reactions to the family that are disturbing, but not yet capable of being translated into effective action.

As might be expected, no pronounced sexual tendencies appear in this group of girls who have a diffused sensuality, only a vaguely heterosexual orientation, with considerable narcissism that impedes or blocks their interest in others.

These prepuberal girls have no clear conception of the feminine role nor do they show any definite rejection of the feminine role; they seem to be wavering between the masculine and feminine roles. Non-feminine activi-

ties (tomboy actions) often appear to be releases of tension or channels for winning approval, or a final expression of their childhood patterns.

The different home and family life, cultural traditions, and religious faiths of these girls are expressed in differences in intensity and emphasis in the patterns described above and sometimes in differences that are more personally significant, especially in puberty and later adolescence when the girl develops and learns to live as an idiomatic person within the milieu in which she finds herself.

PUBERAL GIRLS (PAST MENARCHE)

These girls who have passed the menarche exhibit a number of characteristics that distinguish them from the prepuberal and the later adolescent. Thus, the postpuberal girl does not project her anxieties into the world as does the prepuberal girl and so seems to accumulate anxiety until she becomes almost panicky, with no releases or outlets available nor any way of handling her anxieties. While the prepuberal girl finds some release of inner tension through explosive outburst, vigorous physical activity or symbolic violence, the postpuberal girl cannot or does not use these channels which might reveal too much of her inner confusion and mounting tension which she cannot handle nor understand. She cannot or does not find physical activity an outlet since her concern for her own body and her heightened self-consciousness renders physical activity less pleasurable or permissible.

At this period in her ongoing development, the girl's maturation seems to be interrupted as if she had to pause and withdraw, while undergoing far reaching transformations internally and in her life space. Thus, she does not, as a postpuberal girl, immediately and directly meet the new problems of living almost suddenly presented in strange aspects. She must, as it were, learn to accept her enlarged awareness of what is going on around her and of her altered place and status in life, begin to reorient her thinking, her beliefs and expectations as she reconstructs her interpersonal relations. She can no longer live as a little girl, enjoying a more or less safe neutrality, but is compelled to recognize that now she is approachable, even vulnerable, to others, especially males, and whatever she does and says is meaningful and significant in new ways to others, of whom she must be continually aware.

It appears as if the problems of the postpuberal girl are more pervasive and intense, but she cannot naively utilize her earlier, simple defenses; she is now aware of herself and her changed relations to others and much more concerned over possible exposure of herself and her anxieties. Thus, the postpuberal girl is losing her earlier patterns but has not yet developed the

new to replace the old; her defenses are weakened in this period so she can only try to withdraw and deny. She has become more self-critical, less capable of free imaginative construction.

During this period feelings of insecurity and of inferiority and anxiety are at a peak with less capacity for self assertion and occasionally with reactive defiance. All demands are received as burdensome and hinder their productiveness with resultant irritation, negativism, and frequent friction with people. Some become extremely introversive (reaching a peak in this period) and live largely in fantasy.

While some try to please, to placate the authorities at school and at home, these efforts intensify their feelings of inadequacy and of insecurity, thus increasing their feelings of hopelessness. To this some may react by surrender and weakening their ambition or lowering their aspirations, while others intensify their ambitions and set up impossible goals.

The schools that are rigidly formal and demand competitive achievement produce in some girls turmoil and inefficiency, while those schools that are more flexible and emphasize self-directed activities produce in some girls, by their lack of specific tasks and their permissiveness, feelings of despair because their own formless and chaotic feelings and interests find so little structure or needed direction in such school programs. This points to the urgent need for an educational program that makes sufficient demands and provides enough organization congruent with the girls' needs and capacities at this stage, but not so rigid and exacting as to block their personal expression or appear irrelevant to their interests at this time. Competition for marks and grades provokes anxiety, thereby increasing the girl's already acute conflicts and her perplexity. Living in a highly competitive group and having to face repeated failure or low status creates persistent feelings of failure and inferiority that may become increasingly devastating to the individual girl.

These postpuberal girls are all concerned with much the same problems, but some, especially those on the lower social-economic level, attempt to control their confusing inner experiences and feelings by an almost compulsive absorption in events outside and by attention to specific concrete aspects of their environment. This conscious forcefulness blocks their emotional responses and gives a precarious balance or control that absorbs too much of their energy. In some cases this involves loss or abolition of fantasy so that the girls have no resources for adjusting to the world through some form of personal individualized expression.

Being so preoccupied with their own inner difficulties, these postpuberal girls, except for those just described above, are less aware of and less concerned with the ongoing events around them than are the prepuberal girls. This preoccupation with self and with her own body seems to block her participation in dealing with current ideas and interests and to foster neglect

of ordinary day by day affairs. Moreover, an awareness of the changes going on in themselves makes it almost impossible for those girls to act naturally and simply as before.

At this time girls are often less outgoing and also less dependent than the prepuberal girls. They become more concerned with being accepted but in their contacts with others they may exhibit some hostility and petulant demanding that looks like aggression. This is probably a continuation of the aggression of the prepuberal girl, but now more focussed, especially in the girls from the lower social-economic groups.

In this postpuberal period, the girls are less home and family centered, less submissively obedient than the prepuberal. This shift brings conflicts with families as they begin to seek independence. The father figure becomes more significant than earlier.

These girls show greater interest in boys and increased sexual curiosity, but they appear unable or unwilling to face clearly questions of sex, even though the problem is growing more intense and demanding. Their sexual interests appear as anticipatory, a pre-genital type of concern over which they seem to be discouragingly puzzled. Yet they may show signs of erotic interests and desires with feelings of guilt.

Their often strong sexual preoccupation, probably in response to masculine attentions, is expressed in neglect or dismissal, repression or active rejection of sex and of boys, and is translated into intense rivalry with boys of whom they have an inadequate image, lacking knowledge that seems to be a consequence of active suppression of sex curiosity.

The feminine role is not clear to those girls who not only are confused but are becoming increasingly concerned with the necessity of playing some kind of feminine role, often expressed as the glamor girl, but also with increased feeling for the maternal role. This hesitation or ambivalence over the feminine role is accompanied by many vague or hazy feminine identifications (as might be expected from the lack of any clear definition or aspirations in this area, and from the frequent feeling that being feminine means inferiority in a man's world).

ADOLESCENT GIRLS

After some years of these postpuberal experiences, the girls reach later adolescence, in most cases having developed their own individualized way of resolving the many perplexities and conflicts and presenting some kind of defensive-aggressive facade to the world. They have begun to consolidate and to fixate the idiomatic patterns, the level of aspiration, the kind of relationships, the responsiveness or lack of responsiveness, with a fixity with which they will, ordinarily, go on to live as adult women.

While earlier they were restless, tense, insecure, overly sensitive to the opinions of others, often overly anxious to be accepted by their age group, now they are, at least outwardly and consciously, more self confident and poised. Now they are no longer the clinging, insecure girls of a few years earlier, no longer dependent upon and submissive to home and family. They have become not only independent but unusually critical of family and of the way of life out of which they have emerged, except for those who are still tied to their families.

They are capable not only of defending themselves, intellectually and emotionally, but their inner defenses and controls are better organized, less dependent upon outside social control and authority.

They have set their level of aspiration with an awareness of the goals they are seeking, again more expressive of personal needs and desires than of outside demands or pressures. They are less responsive to the formerly coercive pressures of their contemporaries and now dare to be more individualized, in at least some activities.

Their self assertion and aggression are not so much diffuse expressions of bodily tensions as earlier, but are more intentional, purposive, and often socially directed or focussed upon the restrictive traditions they have now individually escaped. It seems as if these adolescent girls, like their male contemporaries, incline to project their own personal problems into social and world problems.

The adolescent girl definitely does not wish to remain a child nor to be like her parents, as she did a few years earlier, except for the girl who has been unable to mature. She is now selecting, for her individual emulation or imitation, more realizable models or ideal figures.

With the expansion that has taken place intellectually, these adolescent girls appear, by contrast, less mature socially and emotionally, as if they had concentrated in the intellectual-knowledge area and ignored or neglected the emotional and more personal. Accordingly, they freely display their intellectual powers, showing their capacity to discriminate and articulate, to accept or reject challenging tasks as they appeal to them.

Clearly they are now capable of individualized self expression after the years of conformity to their peer group requirements and models, and they now enjoy this limited self expression. However, some of these activities that are exaggeratedly individualistic, even bizarre, appear to be releases for anxiety. The adolescent girl's energies turn, not so much to daydreams and fantasies, as to more realistic attitudes and purposes.

The older girls have gained facilities for release and so are more active than the postpuberal girl and this activity seems to be less forced and more genuine. Moreover, many of these adolescent girls are not so frightened by emotion as their puberal emotionality has become less diffuse and more focussed, directed, and controlled.

These late adolescents have also developed more capacity for introspection, and they can now review their past and look forward to the future as a specific way of allaying their worries. In this introspective review of their lives, they may become very self-deprecatory and disillusioned, reacting to this by more romanticism and self-idolization. Sometimes they exhibit an overbearing, aggressive attitude as another way of combating their inner doubts and overcoming their feelings of insecurity.

In this period anxiety seems more pervasive but less intense with continued fear of the world and of their own impulses and feelings. To avoid friction or conflicts, they may restrict their own areas of activities.

Mood swings are frequent and girls from the middle class in colleges with high scholastic standards are inclined to be unhappy and worried.

At this period the girls have developed a positive, as contrasted with the earlier negative or hostile, acceptance of the male. While definitely interested in men, they are fearful of sex at this time when their sexual interests are high but their hesitation and fears are also at a maximum. Faced with this conflict, girls may deliberately narrow or restrict their activities as a way of gaining or maintaining poise, becoming reserved, if not aloof, in place of their earlier provocative "exhibitionism."

Acceptance of the feminine role is still not yet reached by most of the adolescent girls. Those from the lower social-economic level who have not been traumatized by the home-neighborhood come closest to a mature acceptance of the feminine role. In some, intellectual striving and careering appear to be compensations for frustrated or unacceptable femininity. Wide variations are observable among girls in different schools and colleges, some being already committed to jobs and careers with various versions of being feminine; others are romantic and glamor minded; some are coquettishly affected and inclined to sentimental, romantic definitions of the feminine role.

There is in most adolescent girls a conflict between over-enthusiastic acceptance and interpretation of the feminine role and its derogation or rejection; for some, acceptance of feminine role seems to mean defeat and submission, for others it means entrance into the life of adult women. Romantic ideas of being feminine are more pronounced in the girls of the middle class group.

Few seem capable of realizing the meaning of the sexual and maternal aspects of the feminine role and many are, as indicated, fearful of sex. There is a notable absence of being happy or even satisfied to be feminine and little or no indications of positive expectations of becoming a woman.

By this age many girls have found that certain kinds of interpersonal relations fulfill their personality needs, serving to allay tensions and provide reassurance. These preferred interpersonal relationships are not focussed by or upon sexual experiences since few adolescent girls in our cul-

ture have any capacity for sexual fulfillment. They may and often do have intercourse, but as an occasion to feel needed, to be accepted, to be valued (if only temporarily) but not usually for sexual gratification. They are often sexually unresponsive, if not more or less frigid. The girl apparently seeks to validate herself in the eyes of a male whose interest and attention gives her assurance that she is feminine and desirable.

Since relationships with boys and men today so frequently involve sexual intercourse or various intimacies or vicariates, the adolescent girl may accept such relationships to gain or retain the boy's interest, or to provoke his aggression to which she may respond with passivity.

Thus, she goes on into the twenties, when marriage and child bearing await most girls, with seemingly little satisfaction in becoming a woman or acceptance of the sexual aspects of femininity. Then she faces in marriage the problem of developing her sexual capacities and attaining a mature mode of sexual functioning. Her present education offers little help in the second decade of her life for the girl's orientation to becoming an adult woman and developing a psychological readiness for marriage.¹

¹ Cf. Pauline Park Wilson, *College Women Who Express Futility* (New York: Bur. Publ., Teachers College, Columbia Univ., 1950).

See also, Robert G. Foster and Pauline P. Wilson, *Women After College* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1942).

SUGGESTIONS FOR SCHOOLS AND YOUTH AGENCIES

From this study of adolescent girls some general and also some specific suggestions may be offered for consideration by all organizations concerned with the education, recreation, health, and welfare of adolescent girls.

It seems clear that any program or systematic procedure for adolescent girls should be guided by the increasing knowledge of their growth, development, and maturation as organisms and as personalities. Too often what is offered girls in the second decade, and what is demanded of them, are governed by a variety of criteria or standards and expectations that have little or no relevance to the biological, psychological, social, and emotional developmental processes then operating, to the present day needs of the girl maturing as an adult woman.

This is not the occasion to belabor the academic ideals which so strongly emphasize the intellectual achievements and mastery of content regardless of its relevance and meaning for students. But it may be pointed out that the attendance of girls at high school is of fairly recent occurrence. It was formerly boys who predominated in high schools and only a few girls attended at a time when students in high schools were only a minority of teenage youth. Within the past thirty or forty odd years, high school attendance has rapidly increased and girls now go to high school in large numbers.

But with the exception of varied programs of vocational training, the high school program has not been adequately oriented to the needs and capacities of teen-age girls. Dropping some of the older formal requirements, such as Latin and mathematics, has taken place and various experimental courses in biology, social studies, and human relations are paving the way to the future. But even in those experimental schools which have broken away from the more rigid curriculum and have offered various new plans—the core curriculum, etc.—the demands made upon students, including girls, for intellectual achievement have continued and often been increased in the last years of the elementary school preparing students for high school, and in high school preparing for college.

The schools often make demands for sustained study and academic achievement and expect students to be actively interested in various subject matters and intellectual skills at a time just before and after puberty when

most girls are least capable of meeting those demands and sustaining such interest except by sacrifice of what is of crucial importance to their maturation and at a psychological cost which may be excessive.

The findings of this study show that at all levels of intelligence and of social-economic status, the prepuberal girl (in the last years of elementary school or beginning of junior high school) is too unstable, worried, or acutely anxious about her own personal life and relations, her changing organism and the future, to be capable of the academic work required. A few do meet academic requirements but may do so by sacrificing more significant aspects of their development for high marks.

Girls in the years just before and after reaching puberty usually want some definite tasks and well ordered activities; they cannot at this time accept an "activity program" with no definite goals or specific requirements since it puts too heavy a responsibility upon them for choices and self direction at this time. But they are not capable of the sustained, intensive study that many purely academic programs require, nor can they find in it what they seek.

Intellectual mastery of problems, personal and social, can often provide a much needed way of meeting life situations that otherwise the student finds beyond her capacity to manage; but such mastery should, to be effective, arise from the student's own need to come to terms with situations that trouble her and not be imposed upon all girls as a prescribed program demanding equal effort or achievement.

Moreover, it appears that the more intelligent the girls, and the higher the standards of school work held up for their achievement, the less they are able to meet the critical transitions from childhood to adolescence. Some of the tensions and persistent anxiety shown by these girls, especially those from professional families, are responses to ambitious parents, often frustrated in their own lives, who are putting increasing pressure on their daughters, or to idealistic teachers who with laudable aims for maintaining the school's reputation, drive the girls to ever more intensive work.

What this means is that, at the time the prepuberal and puberal girls are legitimately preoccupied with the exigent requirements of growing into adolescence, these external demands and pressures may frustrate their biological-psychological need for a more or less prolonged period of relaxation, of reflective thinking in the form of reveries, day dreams, and endless discussions with age mates. This is a basic need to permit the organic process of growth and maturation of the female organism, so much more complex and highly integrated than the male, to take place without interference or additional burdens.

There is a variety of evidence that these young girls are fearful of growing up, especially since they are, at the early years of 10, 11, and 12, already

worried about what they can do later and especially what kind of jobs they can get.

Cumulative findings on personality development and breakdowns, which confirm the results of this limited study, show that the individual is striving to live between the demands and opportunities of the outside world and the needs, impulses, and emotional reactions of her private world. When the organism is unstable (because rapidly growing) and the personality is in transition to a more mature level, the individual is less capable of meeting increased outside demands and accepting unnecessary frustrations.

There is ample justification for emphasizing the above since the crucial issue is whether the schools will recognize the overwhelming importance of this stage of development for the future of the girl, who, as a woman, as a wife, as a mother, as a citizen, faces new and greater demands than her mother, will live longer than any previous generation and so needs at this time of her life to be guided, helped, and protected for this longer life span of greater responsibilities and wider participation.

A recognition of this would involve not only the provision in the school of what would be of immense help to the girl at this stage of her development, but also the modification or even elimination of much in the curriculum that now impedes development or provides various escapes and evasions. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that girls today are anxiously, often desperately, seeking understanding of their current perplexities and problems which they must attempt to resolve at this time if they are to go on maturing and becoming ready for adult living. Thus the schools should not try to prepare them for future living by specific instruction and training for tasks they will meet later, but help them to meet their present adolescent problems, especially their personality problems, and give them the reorientation they will need for adult living and learning. Here as in all other ages, the best preparation for tomorrow is to live adequately today, to deal with today's requirements so as to be able to go forward without too much "unfinished business."

As the schools consider these needs of girls, the growing knowledge of adolescent development and studies such as this will serve to guide the long overdue orientation of education in the second decade to foster more wholesome, saner, mature women.

The findings of this study also indicate that there are a considerable number of girls, on all three levels, who are more or less seriously disturbed, burdened with various persistent affective reactions or chronic feelings of guilt, anxiety, hostility, and some who are clearly neurotic or possibly close to mental disorder (psychosis). But apparently the schools have little or no recognition of their condition and their acute need for professional attention.

The schools are often aware of these girls as "school problems"; they have been difficult in classes or have misbehaved or otherwise caused trouble or failed academically, but these indications are considered largely in moralistic terms, which blame the girl (and her family) for her failure to conform or to achieve. This has been the customary attitude of schools, to expect every student to fit into the school program, to be submissively obedient and to refrain from showing any signs of personality difficulties and emotional conflicts within the school. Sometimes the schools regard the most seriously disturbed girl as a model student because she is quiet, well behaved, and studious.

When a child or teen-ager is in difficulties, the family is expected to take whatever steps—punishment or treatment—are desirable or necessary. But adolescents, today especially, cannot or will not tell their parents what they are worried about, how they are faring in school life. As every adolescent girl says occasionally or repeatedly, "But mother, you don't understand," as her way of indicating her inability to communicate with her mother largely because mothers of a previous generation usually cannot understand what their teen-age daughters face today.

Thus it seems highly appropriate for the school, as the socially sanctioned agency for the education and increasingly for the health care and welfare of our children and youth, to take a more active interest and concern for fostering healthy personalities of students, especially of girl students. That this viewpoint is being accepted is shown by the establishment of child guidance clinics as part of, or closely related to, the school system. But these clinics now (and probably for years to come) are overwhelmed by acute cases demanding diagnosis and treatment. Indeed the clinical load is so heavy that these clinics are engaged chiefly in diagnostic work, unable to provide much therapy.

The responsibility of the schools is to provide in the whole curriculum and program what will aid students to mature as healthy personalities. This involves several functions which should be carried on concurrently and in a closely integrated manner.

The schools should be alert to the first indications that a student is unable to meet his or her life tasks effectively without incurring too high a cost psychologically. This refers especially to the student who meets academic requirements, is orderly, outwardly sociable, friendly and cooperative, but who does so by great strain and with an increasingly heavy burden of conflicts. For this purpose the indirect methods used in this study offer an unusually promising procedure, as will be discussed later, for "screening" those students who are probably going to become more seriously disturbed or maladjusted later.

The schools should make full use of the growing body of tested methods developed in group work and group therapy. These are particularly applicable to the teen-age students who are especially sensitive to and eager for group approval and will respond to group methods, although they may actively resist as individuals. It would be highly desirable to develop a program of group therapy directed to the well recognized areas of adolescent problems and anxieties, their life tasks, and their various interpersonal relationships that perplex them.

Such a program of group therapy could be articulated with all the recognized subject matter areas and courses—especially the arts, literature and drama, biology, social science, and the newer developments in the physical sciences. Indeed a life-centered curriculum would accept as its basis the intense concerns and active curiosities of teen-agers as the most effective way to enlist their enthusiastic interest in the recognized fields of knowledge, which, however, would be presented, not in the customary, schematic, logically organized forms for teaching (representing the adult interests and professionally trained thinking of textbook writers), but rather in terms of the students' curiosities and intense desire to understand. Children and adults learn, be it remembered, in ways that are quite different from formal teaching, bringing to learning an interest and an active concern which arise from their genuine desire to find out.

While all subject matter areas would yield relevant and enlightening materials and understanding for such a program, the arts, literature, and drama would provide immediately helpful experiences, as already shown in some schools. Through the arts the students are helped to self-discovery (not self-expression as is so often said, which implies that the child or adolescent has a self already formed to express). In these years of development she is engaged in trying to discover herself and her potentialities. The arts, creative and performing, are being increasingly recognized as effective experiences for fostering personality development and mental health. Role playing and spontaneous dramatization offer many possibilities for self-discovery and for release of conflicting feelings as the individual plays a role and clarifies her ideas and feelings about those relationships. These potentialities await further exploration and wider use in schools, especially in schools for the teen-age groups, and for girls, who may have a more difficult task of self-discovery than boys.

Literature and drama are of greatest value in helping youth to gain understanding and insight in the perplexing area of human relations where most of his or her difficulties arise. This calls for a shift in these courses from the teaching of facts, dates, influences, and all the other minutiae of the graduate school to the methods already in use in some schools, with discussion of characters, their personality, values, interpersonal relations, the

changing masculine and feminine roles, indeed all major concerns of youth and of adults that novels and plays present. There are many excellent novels concerned with family life, parent-child relationships, and the exigent problems of interpersonal relations; these could be used effectively in high school courses as a focus for group discussion.

By the reading and discussion of movies, plays, and poetry the students can, without embarrassment or fear of revealing their own problems, explore these questions about which they are most perplexed and gain illumination and understanding. As some teachers have found, insights are communicated more effectively by esthetic experience, including discussion of current moving pictures.

These developments, already in operation in a few schools and colleges, often meet with the resistance of those teachers, trained in the graduate schools in the techniques and findings of scholarship, who teach impersonal facts about literature or a critical dissection of a work of imagination, thereby robbing it of meaning for the student. The requirements of colleges are blocking desirable changes in the teaching of literature, even when teachers are ready and eager to do otherwise.

It should be recognized that the emphasis in schools upon objectivity and intellectual performance not only denies, but seems to condemn, spontaneous feelings. This is often interpreted by the girls to mean that feelings are not approved and must be hidden, denied, or repressed as not desirable or permissible. Thus formal academic education may smother their capacity for spontaneity of feeling, may block their emotional responsiveness, not because of the school program calling for intellectual effort and mental discipline, but because the school devalues any other mode of expression or of maturation.

The eight year study of thirty high schools freed from academic and college entrance requirements showed that when high school students were encouraged to learn and pursue their own interests, they were able not only to enter and carry college work successfully, but to do so more effectively than the conventionally taught students.

The growing frequency of courses focussed upon human relations, the family and human biology and related topics, conducted as discussion groups, are also providing what teen-age students need as an occasion for focussed but free discussion on topics of immediate concern to them as developing personalities.

As the findings of this study indicate, the adolescent girl finds great difficulty in clarifying what the feminine role means and discovering how to play that role in ways that are congruent to her own individual needs and capacities. No one can teach girls what feminine role they should accept

today when there is so much confusion over this; but schools can help girls to discover what different conceptions of the feminine role involve, what are the costs and the advantages of being a woman today and following various patterns, including the dual responsibilities of families and outside jobs.

No one has yet found the formula for adolescent education, but the above suggestions based upon various proposals made and experiments conducted over the past twenty odd years offer promising leads to the provision of what girls in the second decade urgently need.

If women are to accept and carry the increased responsibilities for home making and child rearing that improved health care and mental health require of the family, then the understanding and the skills needed for more intelligent home making, nutrition, and sanitation, and for infant and child care and education, should be more effectively presented to adolescent girls, and boys. The established courses in home economics and child development and child psychology need to be made more interesting and relevant to adolescents to be effective for this purpose.

Observation and actual care of young children in homes and in nursery schools are also desirable since girls coming from small families today often have little or no experience with young children. Moreover, as they participate in nursery schools they often gain many insights into their own personality needs and emotional reactions.

As indicated earlier, the group administration of projective methods, such as those used in this study, and also the art productions of students, make it possible to elicit from all students the responses which indicate their areas of concern and permit screening of those who should be given more attention.

It should be possible for schools to use these projective methods regularly for each class, submit the results to qualified examiners to pick out the individuals who show signs or give indications in their responses of often well concealed difficulties.

These procedures have the great advantage of providing preliminary diagnostic results without the interviews which may be embarrassing to students or which may create acute situations that the interviewer cannot always handle. It avoids any invidious distinctions among students or public exposure of individuals, since all participate in the group administered "tests" and the follow-up on the cases screened out for more attention can be handled discreetly.

It may be pointed out that the interpretation of these projective responses also provides, as several studies have shown, valuable insights for educational guidance of individual students. The results of these tests often indi-

cate unsuspected but unusual capacities and also give light upon academic failures and bizarre performance.

Finally, it may be urged that schools actively undertake such projective "testing" so that a growing body of findings will become available for more understanding of the teen-age student, especially of girls, about whom this exploratory study has given some light. More studies are needed along these lines, including more girls at each age from 10 to 20, to show the sequential development of personality in the second decade and to give more light upon the difficulties girls now are experiencing in attempting to grow up.

APPENDIX A

SAMPLE FORM OF QUESTIONS TO HUMAN FIGURE DRAWINGS

Name _____ Age _____ Date _____ Grade _____

Make up a story about this figure as if she (or he) were a character in a novel or a play by making up answers to the following questions about her (or him) as well as you can.

1. What is (s)he doing? _____
2. How old is (s)he? _____
3. Is (s)he married? _____
4. Have children? _____
Boys or Girls? _____
5. What is her (his) work? _____
6. Grade in School? _____
7. What is her (his) ambition? _____
8. How smart is (s)he? _____
9. How healthy is (s)he? _____
10. How goodlooking is (s)he? _____
11. Best part of her (his) body? _____
12. Worst part of her (his) body? _____
13. How happy is (s)he? _____
14. What does (s)he worry about? _____
15. When does (s)he lose his (her) temper? _____
16. What nervous habits does (s)he have? _____
17. What are her (his) 3 worst habits? _____
18. What are her (his) good points? _____
19. Many friends? _____)
Older or younger? _____
20. What do people say about her (him)? _____
21. How much does (s)he enjoy her (his) family? _____
22. How much does (s)he like school? _____
23. How often does (s)he go out with boys? (or girls?) _____
24. What does (s)he call a good time? _____
25. Will (s)he marry? _____
26. At what age? _____
27. What kind of a boy (or girl) will (s)he marry? _____
28. What are her (his) 3 main wishes? _____
29. Of whom does (s)he remind you? _____
30. Like to be like her (him) _____
31. Write anything you wish to add _____

Note: Mark the number 1 on top of the page of the figure that you first drew. Put a check mark next to any of the answers that describe you as well as the figure.

APPENDIX B — INDIVIDUAL RECORDS

C O N S T A N C E

Prepuberal

SUMMARY

On the surface, Constance appears rather well adjusted without serious difficulties (R, TAT, HH, FD). However, this is probably conformity to the demands made on her, and for it she pays the price of over-regulation, constant restraint, and politeness (FD). She plays the role of the happy child her parents seem to expect of her (R), but it is accompanied by resentment, restlessness, and dissatisfaction (FD), and a desire for expansion (HH). Temper outbursts are possible and she feels guilty about her aggression (FD).

Constance is ambitious with high aspirations (R, FD, G), but this seems to be at least partially a result of environmental pressure toward accomplishment (HH). While she has good intellectual capacity (R), her fantasy is rather infantile (TAT, HH). She is not able to achieve on a level with her ambitions, which results in tensions and anxiety (R, HH) (no indication of anxiety on TAT) and loss of spontaneity (R, FD). The limited imaginative range (TAT) may also be an expression of this. She forces herself to do things that are more impressive and attractive than she can do in a natural way (HH). At times she is rather evasive (FD, R).

Actually, Constance is quite childish and dependent (R, FD). There is strong attachment to her protecting home environment (R, FD), feelings of insecurity (HH, FD), and marked ambivalence about growing up (G, FD). She is frightened, lacking in confidence, and self-conscious (FD). Her fear of aloneness and her need for parental love are too strong (G) for her to loosen the parental bonds. There is much egocentricity (G) and emotional immaturity (TAT). While she has a good capacity for outside stimulation and is socially oriented (R, FD, HH), she is too uncertain (FD) to be able to form social relations on a mature level (HH). Her social needs seem to be primarily for admiration and approval (R, FD), and she is quite exhibitionistic (R, FD). Even her forced intellectualization is in order to please and to obtain social prestige (G).

Although her identification is basically feminine (R, HH, FD), there seems to be some wavering in regard to sexual role and possibly some masculine protest tendencies (R, FD). There is a strong yearning for acceptance by her father (FD), and her desire to satisfy him by acting like a boy may help to explain the masculine protest elements (FD). He seems to symbolize a mighty power in comparison with whom she feels small (HH).

Her interest in marriage (FD, TAT) seems to be conventional rather than expressive of a real need (TAT). There is as yet no real involvement with boys (TAT).

THEMATIC APPRECIATION TEST

Not too much of interest is contained in these very brief, rather barren, and flatly descriptive scenes from everyday life, which are only rarely relieved by flights of youthful fantasy. Most of the stories are prosaic and reflect a commonplace or conventional outlook and a lack of perceptiveness. Imaginative range is limited and the intellectual assets that Constance reveals on the TAT are not impressive for her school group, which is made up largely of intellectually gifted boys and girls. Some of her narratives contain cultural banalities which may be influenced by movies and radio serials, such as the story of murder in the mansion which is solved in due course by a detective (7). Like others at her stage of development, Constance is excited by such melodramatics as murders and haunted houses. Wish fulfillment is not uncommon, with many endings of the "and they lived happily ever after" type. Indeed, by far the most outstanding feature of the record is its immaturity or sheer infantile quality. It must be remembered, however, that with a chronological age of 10 years 9 months she is one of the youngest subjects in the study.

Parents do not figure prominently among the characters, and there are no siblings, although grandparents are mentioned on two occasions. An interpretation typical both for its brevity and flatness is (3): "A lady whose daughter has gone out to play has just finished her housework and sits down to think about when she was a child." The story ends at this point. Another one like it is (1), where grandmother is persuaded to tell the little girl a story; when the girl grows up she tells her children stories. In (12) the parents, after debating the issue, allow grandmother to give their daughter a puppy for her birthday. The grandmother seems to be a significant figure for Constance. The relatively slight concern with family relationships may mean nothing more than that the family is taken for granted and that there are no grave parent-child disturbances.

Despite Constance's immaturity some beginning interest is shown in the opposite sex. In more than one story she mentions future marriages with prospects of several children. Thus in (5) a couple in love elope and proceed to have three children; in (6) a girl grows up and marries; and in (8) two girls go to a dance where they meet their future husbands. Apparently marriage and children are among her goals, but these attitudes result more from pursuing conventional modes of thought than from any genuinely felt emotional need. Real affective involvement with boys is not yet indicated, for Constance is still clinging to her childhood.

Anxiety and depressive coloring are absent from the stories. There do not seem to be serious difficulties in adjustment, although she does give one unusual story in which the heroine, imagining that she is a bird, tries to fly but falls and kills herself (9). Such associations at her age do not necessarily mean bizarre and unhealthy thought trends; rather they may be taken as residuals of her earlier childhood fantasy life.

RORSCHACH TEST

Constance is typical in her adjustment to a very pampering and protected environment. She is reluctant to grow up too fast and leave behind the role of

an only and very well guarded child which she is playing now. Her record strikes one as childish even when compared with those of her own age group. Cannibals, dragons, and dancing rabbits populate her world. One concept, the Eiffel Tower, may indicate some masculine "protest," some boyish attitude, by its architectural content, which is usually more within the interest of boys, or by its phallic symbolism. This concept transcends the usual girl's concern. Yet it is not infrequent in prepuberal records, and may merely indicate the indefiniteness of that age.

On the other hand, Constance emphasizes feminine display and dancing. Variations of dancing figures occur repetitively, almost obsessively. The record starts with ballet dancers endowed with butterfly wings. The same combination with butterfly wings recurs on Card V when a dancing rabbit uses them in order "to make her appear light." Evidently Constance identifies with the rabbit whose femininity is indicated by gender. With regard to Constance's intellectual capacity and ambitions, the whole responses, with their forced combination of center and side areas, show relatively good organization and high aspirations.

The borrowing of butterfly wings, however, is very significant in this girl's personality. The entire record of 25 responses breathes spurious cheer and light-heartedness. Constance realizes that the role of a joyful child is assigned to her. That she resents it underneath seems probable by the fact that Constance marks Card I, the ballet dancer, as "like that one least." Yet, she masses very airy concepts of flying and floating throughout the protocol. Many of these floating things are inanimate objects like pillows and feathers carried by the air. This kind of inanimate movement (m) suggests tension and anxiety, the feeling of being exposed to forces outside oneself. Tenseness is indicated in many other ways in this test. She has invented a skillful kind of evasion and a deceptive "delightfulness" as hiding devices.

Constance's Rorschach is brief in view of her good intelligence and her rich ideations, and it shows little variability. Her efforts for gay adjustment to parental ideas of a child have curtailed her very good capacity for outside stimulation and, in connection with five human movement responses, give a picture of good balance and normalcy. Sensitive to impressions, she can use her experiences for the establishment of human relations. However, childish glamour-display as a constant bid for admiration is the paramount basis for them. She is anxious to gain approval, because she needs it. One-fourth of her responses are reactions to the shading quality of the blots, which is unusual in children of her age. Shading responses require a certain amount of shrewdness, and it is just this type of shrewdness born of insecurity and groping for supportive acclamation which Constance has developed earlier than any other characteristics.

GRAPHOLOGY

Constance's writing is printed. She has not yet changed from the juxtaposition of letters to actual connection. That means that she feels little urge to grow up, to form social relationships independent of those of her parents. Unlike most of her classmates, she still places letters as she has learned them, next to each other regularly and with prim neatness. Constance has not rebelled against her dependence and her home, but thoroughly enjoys their protective aspects.

Some disturbance is indicated by Constance's confusion of lateral dominance. One component of this may be her desire to prolong parental protective authority, delaying the problem of independent orientation. She adheres almost compulsively to rules, but the anxiety which is the reason for her compulsive measures is not too severe.

The transition of cultural ideas from one generation to the next seems almost optimally smooth in her case. Very few signs of turmoil are present in this simple, childish writing and only the inner tension of line reveals the presence of some desire for expansion. The letters are rather big, naively reaching out toward top goals, but the relatively small increase in height of the capitals indicates that ambitions are not supervalent, that intellectualization is attempted in order to please and for social prestige rather than out of genuine explorative curiosity. Hardly any of her mid-zone letters are completely joined; there are little gaps, like breathing spaces: "much arg. . ." page 4, 3 lines above last. This unwillingness to close arises from a fear of being abandoned, of being alone; it expresses a slightly phobic fear of aloneness, which is the one indicator of anxiety in this writing. This girl's need for assertion of parental love is immense and demanding.

At the same time, the letters are very broad and round; their self-referred circularity indicates egocentricity. Circular movements are the first ones to be performed by a child. They are the expression of a primitive egocentric manner of experience, lacking the need for social communication. They confirm the interpretation of Constance's incapacity of forming relationships on her own shown in the disconnectedness of letters. Her endeavors to overcome this lead to awkward angularity: ("swimming," the m's, page 3, line 11).

In the insecurity of the baseline (line 12, p. 3) is manifested this girl's insecurity and inability to stand alone. Her dreamy, imaginary, childish world is unrealistic. The size and circularity of her middle zone indicate her naive self-involvedness, which, despite few inner problems, causes strong feelings of insecurity in her because she has developed insufficient means for deep relatedness. This seems to be more a symptom of her age than of disturbance. The neatness, regularity and unaspiring reality-zone treatment make sound future development very probable.

HUMAN FIGURE DRAWING

The male is drawn first, which indicates some sexual wavering in regard to identifications. She falls, in this respect, among a rather small percentage of girls in her age and school group who draw the male first, and therefore earns the interpretation that she perhaps has more than a passing wish to be a boy in order to satisfy her father. (Constance is the only child of a physician father.) She imposes several self-characteristics and wishes them upon the boy in her description of his character. He is only six, which suggests that Constance has some fear of leaving childhood, and wishes to be just entering school again, perhaps as a boy. He is going out in the morning, apparently with his dog. Although he is only six, he is already in the sixth grade, which is Constance's grade. He is very healthy, very smart, very happy, likes his school and his family; people say, "What a nice boy," about him. He considers going to a

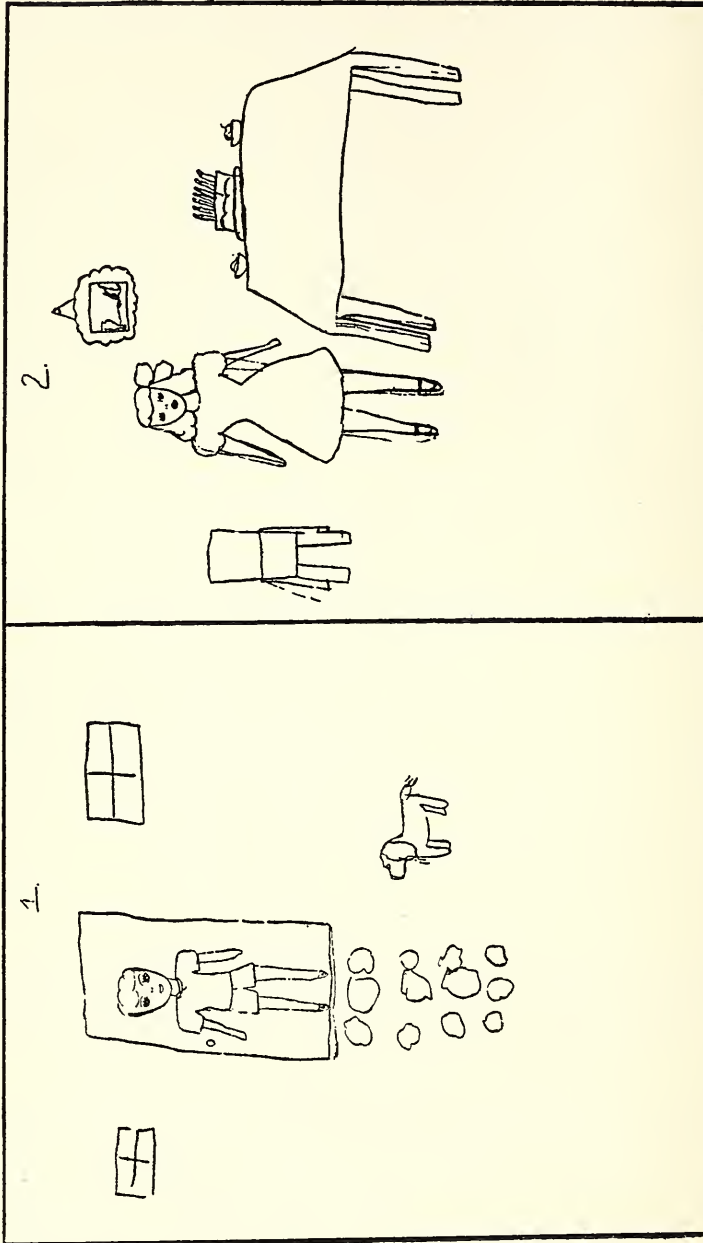


PLATE VIII—Human Figure Drawings by Constance (prepuberal).

carnival and eating ice cream a good time. He will marry a sweet girl when he is twenty. His main wishes are to have a nice home and to be an engineer. He is considered smart, kind, and considerate, virtues which are doubtless stressed in Constance's family, and his only bad habit is biting his nails, which appears to be true of Constance. He is, however, only fairly good looking, an estimate which Constance applies to herself. To the question, "What does he worry about?" Constance writes, "Nothing," and then erases it, suggesting that she is indeed worried and could not tolerate the untruth. Constance will not concede that she would like to be like either the boy or girl that she drew, although both are obvious reflections of her problems and dreams.

The female is given her own age. She is waiting for her party to begin. Graphically, we see that the birthday cake has seven candles, which means the sixth birthday year. Although Constance describes the girl as ten, she is drawn back to the six years that she gives to the boy, showing considerable ambivalence in regard to the problem of growing up and certainly to growing up as a girl. Birthdays are of vital importance in this waiting stage of prepuberty. Also, eating is stressed, with the boy liking ice cream, and food constituting the background of the drawing of the girl. Constance further describes the girl as very healthy, very happy, very beautiful, and only fairly smart. Here she sacrifices smartness for beauty, since she perhaps feels more like a smart boy than a beautiful girl. Aspiration level, nevertheless, remains high, as is frequent in this group. The girl's ambition is to become a writer. She has many friends of all ages, while the boy has only same-age friends. People say, "What a beautiful child," about the girl. The need for acceptance on the point of beauty is great. She is already permitted a discreet, once-a-month going out with boys and hopes to marry a nice boy at twenty. It is obvious from these character summaries that life has not touched Constance at too many or too complex points. She is one of the younger prepuberals. Leaving her childhood is a more compelling problem at this point than boy interests.

In the drawings, we find the boy leaving the house with a far-away, uncertain, and discontented look, to go off perhaps into independence and the future. The dog features prominently as a sympathetic friend. Love for pets is common for this transitional stage, definitely diminishing with maturity. We observe that the path is stony, and not too well paved, but Constance makes an explicit knob on the door so that return home is possible. The windows too are left without blinds, so that visual access to the house may be maintained. Constance feels no need for the complete house, but draws only the part that is emotionally significant to her, neglecting to encase the parts into a frame. The use of background and the theme in both drawings are definitely prepuberal. They serve the function of executing felt activity and also of giving security to the "lost" figure. It is of some interest that the rocky road is lighter in pressure than the door, windows, and the figure, indicating more security in the childhood and home content than in the road away from it.

The figures are both petite, trim, and rather overcautious, suggesting a constant restraint, overregulation, and overpoliteness. The boy's head is relatively larger than that of the girl, giving him graphically more intellect. His eyes, which refer to communication and reception of the stimuli about him, are also

larger. The thin legs and arms suggest a sense of underdevelopment, insecurity, and lack of confidence. He is rather frightened and self-conscious. The girl is given more sturdiness and spirit. She is angry, impatient, and shows the line reinforcements and irregularities of emotional instability. Oral erasures and stress upon the mouth suggest temper outbursts. She shows almost a corsetted restraint at the waistline, has a ribbon in her hair, and straps on her shoes, but these restraints are not containing her aggressions too successfully. The oral emphasis may also be referred to Constance's interest in food in her character descriptions. The girl drawn shows more resentment than party mood. She is precariously stanced. The legs of the chair, table, and figure are all erased with strong reinforcements, marking the whole problem of insecurity and growth as a moot one. Active erasures in an otherwise rather neat and careful girl indicate the restlessness and dissatisfaction, both of which are common to this group. The omission of hands in both figures suggests some guilt regarding aggression. The nailbiting which Constance gives to the boy may be a symptom of repression.

The shoulders of the girl are wide with some waving of line marking that area as in conflict. In the placement of the arms of both figures, we find a reaching out away from the body, so that Constance is essentially socially oriented, but the arms are heavy, restrained, and uncertain about contacting the world. The boy is going away from the home, is outdoors, while the girl is in the interior, with much warmth and atmosphere surrounding her. Are we to judge identification with a rather strong mother figure who is the homemaker, and yet strong yearning for acceptance by the father? The girl is generally concerned with clothes and glamour effects, although these are handled with restraint. Possessions and clothes are important to Constance and she fears growing up might jeopardize them. Certainly the female model is built in a context of clothes, home, food, possessions, beauty, and attention at a birthday party, while the male figure is out on his own with no one but his dog to love him. The reinforced head contours, active facial features, and material surroundings in the drawings reflect a drive for social dominance. Dissatisfaction leads to restriction and sporadic outbursts rather than withdrawal. No explicit sexual or growing-up characteristics are shown. The size of the drawings suggests inhibition, but the placement is fairly assertive and optimistic. Nostrils further accent aggressive needs, while the open, concave mouth speaks for strong oral dependence.

It is felt that the tensions and dissatisfaction that are evident in her drawings and the associations to them are fairly typical for their prepuberal quality. Constance is basically a bright, efficient girl with good spirit and normal social interests. Goals are somewhat veered off to professionalism, but the family background is professional. Marriage and interest in material things persist with daydreaming rather at a minimum for her age group. Fear of growing up and regression in thought to earlier childhood is not uncommon for only children from fairly privileged environments where childhood has been relatively unburdened.

HORN-HELLERSBERG TEST

Constance's presentations show a variety of different mental approaches, concrete as well as emotional, while the objects she chooses are mostly taken from

a child's world: the clowns, the princess, the queen looking in the bowl, an old-fashioned lady, a Pilgrim girl walking, Bambi, a puppy, and her own dog Skippy. The range of her interest is determined by her reading, by movies, and by objects which attract her emotional participation. This is typical of a ten-year-old child. When she emphasizes some feeling tone in a headline, "A Quiet Scene" (see picture 1), she is trying to achieve some distance from her own child world. Two digits, 5 and 1, she calls "Arithmetic Vision, A Child's Dream of Arithmetic." This appears as an artificial attempt at sophistication and probably is influenced by her school environment. It does not sound very genuine. She seems to aim to do something more attractive or more impressive than she really can do in a natural way. These same trends also become clear in her frequent erasing as she changes the figures around in the picture. This is very obvious in the picture here reproduced as No. 2, "The Princess."

The human figures are all single; most of them are active. For instance, there is the "Pilgrim Girl Going for a Walk" (see picture 3). Other figures are not really moving. All the figures but one have their arms hanging by their sides. The exception is picture 4, "A Queen Looking in a Golden Bowl." The queen is as stiff as the other figures. It seems that Constance's ambition for brilliancy and interesting themes has a laming effect on her while her imagery, the chosen objects of drawings, still reflect a very childlike fantasy.

Her first idea seems to be naive, but then she wants to carry it further than she is able to. It also shows that she responds well to stimulation in her environment and gets an idea quickly, but after that she feels slightly pushed as far as accomplishments are concerned. We notice something of an ego struggle, early for her age level, but perhaps related to the ambitious inclination and the influence of her school environment.

In picture 1 she has chosen a symbol which has some relation to herself and femininity. Assuming that a house serves as a picture of the woman's self, here Constance presents the house hidden behind a big tree. A road is leading to a well-locked door with a big doorknob. The road makes it look as if the house were in the air and not to be reached yet. Another house in a picture not reproduced here has no road, and only half of it is shown. (Compare the symbolic meaning of houses, doors, roads in the three different age levels, discussed in Chap. 8.)

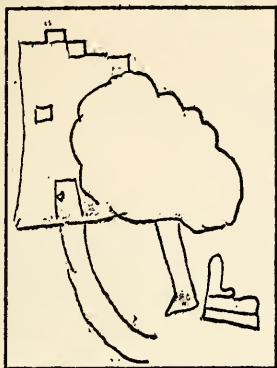
One may say that this child is functioning on two different levels. On the one hand there is an easy-going give and take with her environment; she feels stimulated and responds to it. But there is also a feeling of ego defence. Her self is less secure than it appears to be for children at her own age level. One may venture that some dangers are lurking from outer influences which push her toward accomplishments greater than she is able to perform.

There are four female and one male presentations. They are all unrealistic. It is typical for her age level that human relations are something to deal with in fantasy rather than in reality. Therefore, in the three animal pictures Constance shows more emotional responsiveness (see "Bambi," picture 5).

Twice the sun appears as a large object with rays: once over the Pilgrim girl, once over the "Crater on the Moon" (see picture 6). The first sun picture (3) shows a tiny girl in a formalized historic dress under an impressively large

sun. If the sun is a father symbol, it appears to her as a mighty power which makes her feel little. The other sun picture uses the mountain line (top right of square E). This association is a very common one, but it is unusual to see this typical "sun over valley" image occurring at her age level. Here it is an enormous sun over the "Crater of the Moon." The moon is evidently experienced as dead and not alive, powerless in front of the huge sun. This imagery seems to be another variation of the father theme in the sun-girl picture. This mightiness of something to be expected in life may also cause her to draw the dead hanging arms on all her human pictures.

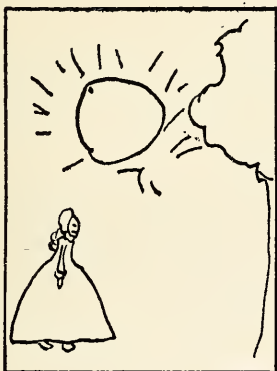
Constance shows an acute insecurity in the face of a world which is big and has many new things. This gives her child fantasy the flavor of being particularly childlike; the animals look most pathetic, while adult symbols are shown only with insecurity. Though her drawing abilities are limited, she succeeds in making a whole out of every picture. This reveals skill in using her integrative capacities. Lines are never really violated, so it appears she adjusts well to what is demanded of her, but tensions and a few problems are definitely noticeable.



1



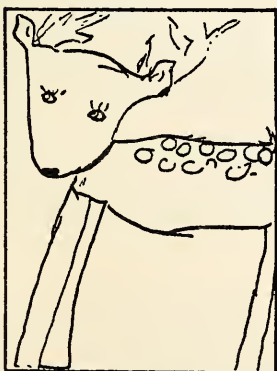
2



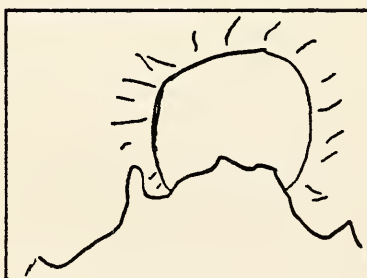
3



4



5



6

PLATE IX—Horn-Hellersberg Test pictures drawn by Constance (prepuberal).

1. A quiet scene
3. A pilgrim girl going for a walk
5. Bambi

2. Princess
4. A queen looking at a golden bowl
6. The sun disappearing behind mountains

M A R G A R E T

Prepuberal

SUMMARY

Margaret is a girl with good intelligence (R, G, FD) and strong emotionality (R, FD, HH). Her over-sensitivity (R, FD, G) combined with the over-stimulation of her environment (R) results in impulsive emotional reactions which she is unable to control (R, FD, HH). There is marked aggression with fits of temper (G, FD).

She is faced by many problems. The FD shows strong mother attachment and the TAT reports ambivalence toward her mother. There seems to be an unresolved Oedipal conflict (R, HH) and a strong need for acceptance by her father (FD), while at the same time she dislikes her father (FD, TAT, HH) and is afraid of him (HH). There are also indications of intense sibling rivalry (R, G, FD, TAT). She is fighting violently for independence (R), but she is not yet free of an infantile family fixation (FD).

Margaret is afraid to grow up (FD) and there is much concern about her body and perhaps a sense of defect (R, FD). There seem to be some rather precocious sexual stirrings (FD, R, TAT), but they are undirected and unaccepted (G, HH). In the face of all this, it is no wonder that reality is confusing to Margaret (R, G, HH) and that she is thrown into a state of inner turmoil (R, HH). This is accompanied by discouragement, resignation (FD), tension (FD, G), and anxiety (TAT, R). She has feelings of painful inadequacy (R, FD), and her self-confidence seems to have collapsed (FD, G). She is depressed (FD, G, R) and moody (G), and there are suicidal tendencies which appear as a longing for peace and an escape from the problems and conflicts which overwhelm her (TAT, G, HH). Although the TAT found suggestions of an early schizoid process, this was not indicated on the FD. However, both mentioned her self-absorption.

Margaret seems to have few friends and to be an intensely lonely child (FD). She feels rejected; there is intense affect hunger, and she seems to be pleading for approval (FD). She has a need for social participation (FD), but her social relations are impeded by her insecurity (R, G). She is unable to utilize her good intelligence for social adjustment (R). She is self-conscious (FD), fearful, threatened, and timid (R, FD, G).

Margaret is ambitious (R) with intellectual aspirations (R, FD, G), but her intellectual compensations are weak (FD) and unwholesome rationalizations are evident (FD, HH). She is moody (G), possibly somewhat hysterical (R, TAT), morbid (HH), and there are aboulie trends (TAT). Her intellectual control is not adequate to govern her emotionality (R, FD, HH) in the conflicts which she faces.

Adjustment is obviously poor (R) and while G felt there was no immediate danger, the HH and TAT stressed the need for immediate psychiatric aid.

THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

Disharmony is apparent in Margaret's home—possibly between the parents and certainly between the two generations. The attitude to maternal figures in the narratives is at the very least ambivalent. In (12), for example, a girl wants something badly but is denied gratification by her mother; then the daughter asks herself bitterly, "Isn't she even human? Hasn't she any feeling?" In another story (1), the mother is more permissive but is still somewhat irritable. Dislike for the father is expressed in (2) where the heroine hates the cool, slippery ways of her parent and decides to run away. In (4) the parents are divorced, the girl is afraid she will have to go to a home, but the mother allows her daughter to live with her. Then, forgetting that they are divorced, Margaret says that the father will be in the same house and gives that as a reason why the daughter might not want to stay. Thus again there is hostility directed against a father figure.

Relationships between the sexes are presented so frequently that only a few may be cited. In (1) a girl visits her aunt and while there goes out with a handsome boy. The housewife in (3) is discouraged with the hard work she does. Her husband returns to say that he just received a raise and that they can afford a maid; then the wife decides she would rather work after all. Here and elsewhere the writing shows aboulc tendencies. In (5) we have a goodbye kiss and wifely premonition of danger for her husband; the wife a moment later hears the screech of brakes and learns that he has been killed outside the door. The heroine of (7) thinks out loud, "Does he love me?" and the boy friend appears on the scene to answer, "No." Then he leaves her. In preparation for her marriage the heroine of (8) is being assisted by her older sister; the latter, feeling resentment that her younger sister is marrying first, complains that there is no justice in the world. In (11) there is for the first and only time in the prepuberal group a story which deals with sex in a forthright manner: first a description of the sensations of physical contact and then an expression of the girl's conflict with her eventual escape. "She felt his breathing close on the cheek. Hot almost gasping breath. His body was hot and warm and comfortable against hers. Yet she couldn't stay with him. No, she couldn't . . . She crept out into the hall and walked silently away." Autobiographical elements such as pre-adolescent sex play or seduction may be suspected because of the vividness and realistic detail of the narrative. Margaret is precocious in her heterosexual interests and probably not in an altogether healthy way. In this connection may be noted the frustrations that her story love affairs always encounter.

One story contains an example of feminine achievements: a girl has worked very hard and now has people working for her but decides that money is the root of all evil and turns again to physical toil (10). Then in (9) we have one of the most fantastic interpretations found at any age level for the girls in this study: a young girl looks at the snow and thinks how nice it would be if she were a snowflake, how peaceful and how carefree; acting on impulse she jumps from the second story and lands "like a snowflake" on the ground below, resting peacefully as the snow covers her over. Desire for extinction, an overwrought

subjectivity, and uncontrolled fantasy are suggestive of early pathological processes. Superficially there is resemblance to the story of the girl trying to fly in the case of Constance, but here the indications are of a real disturbance because of a different tone or quality to the story, the context in which it is found, and the age differential between the two girls. There is also in Margaret's stories much hostility to parents as well as frustration and complaints of unfairness and injustice. Catastrophe overwhelms many of her characters. Margaret is intense and emotional, even hysterical at times—she is given to a chantlike repetition of certain words like "Work! Work! Work!" and "Why? Why? Why?" which express the vehemence of her feelings. Already poorly adjusted, Margaret requires treatment before her unhealthy patterns of response become crystallized.

RORSCHACH TEST

Margaret's conflicts as mirrored in her Rorschach are most indicative of her age and what can be called her attempts for adjustment or, since they are so unsuccessful, might instead be termed maladjustment. These reflect much of the typical quality of her age group. Simultaneously and intricately interwoven with the typical are some very personal, individual, and even unusual reactions.

Margaret gives 42 responses to the Rorschach cards. Since the average number of responses for her age group in prepuberty is 24.82, Margaret certainly has more than the usual capacity for stimulation. The number of responses to the colored cards is significantly higher than that to uncolored cards, the relation being 4:3. That the emotionally stirring effect inherent in color is not only strong but ungovernable, must be inferred from the quality of her color responses. The score of 2FC, 2CF, 2C shows that only one-third of those responses which made use of color concurrently took account of the delineative aspect of the blot area, the shape.

In one-third of her responses, form was disregarded completely and she reacted to nothing but the emotional moment. Exclamations rather than responses are: "This is blood dripping," and "This is dead blood to me." The overwhelming effect which the red color has on Margaret suggests that she is equally overwhelmed by strong emotional experiences, consequently losing logical control and being unable to continue and maintain rational interest and objectivity. Thus she gives unbridled expression to her excitement.

Likes and dislikes are unduly important to her. Margaret offers equally exaggerated reactions to darkly shaded areas which confuse her almost as much as does coloring. Her most disturbed responses are to cards V and IX with their accumulated impact of color and shading respectively. Card V is "gloom, or a very bad storm," and also "brains." Card IX, as a whole, is a "messy baby" which is definitely a failure as to the accuracy of form. F— responses of that type, occurring in the record of an adult, would doubtlessly indicate a very considerable disturbance suggestive of psychosis. In this prepuberal child, while certainly exceeding the typical and even the usual, the style and trends of the characteristics of that group are still followed sufficiently consistently to reduce the inherent pathology quite drastically.

More concepts of the same type, like "clouds, water, storm," are given to card IV. This card, eliciting father-fears so frequently in all subjects, appears to be one of the most vulnerable to distortions in our group. Panic reactions of fear and of guilt are frequent to this card and Margaret in her above mentioned answers expresses the inner turmoil of storm and the confusion and becloudedness and gloomy threat of the murky scenery of clouds over black water which she describes. She gives only vague recognition to outlines and shapes of undecided profiles of the darker over lighter shades. Depressives or severe hysterics frequently present this tortured gray-in-gray overreaction, with emotionally loaded content of brooding disaster and hardly any recognition of clearcut delineative shape.

To this girl, as to many others at her stage of development, reality justly appears highly confusing. She has not yet acquired a concrete understanding of her immediate environment and of her place in it, but is already and newly attacked by stimuli and stirrings, this time biological in kind. She is not yet equipped to meet them. Her Rorschach depicts the situation of a warrior who, trying to escape to the rear, finds himself confronted with more enemies. The protocol reflects problems on two levels and in two fields. Card VII, frequently prompting connotations of home and mother in various subjects, elicits quite childish associations in Margaret: "Children and possibly a Grandma, all swinging on a swing," and the top is "a banana." The mood is that of gay orality. The next card, however, VIII (all in color) brings a sudden shock effect.

Margaret's first response is one of utmost confusion and consternation—entirely unwarranted as to form-precision: "It is all a delicate baby." This response, which only personal free association could fully understand in its analytical implications, is repeated and elaborated on in a reaction to the next card, IX, to which the first answer reads, "A messy baby." The uniqueness and the prominent places of these concepts, as well as the duplication of their content, point them out as tinged by some complex ideas.

Whether they are of the nature of birth fantasies, of sibling jealousy, or whatever other kind, might become clearer in the light of other test material on different levels. Here it can only be added that card V is seen also as a "baby bat" and "has delicate feelers." Each of these first responses is followed by anxiety. On card V she gives the anatomical concept of "brains" next, which reflects physical concern and also some intellectual aspirations, expressed in the choice of just the brain for an amorphous, black area which is much more frequently seen as clouds or hair. This type of intellectualization, escape into anatomical and artistic "design" responses, is more frequently used to serve the purpose of concealment behind the impressive screen of assumed knowledge or skills. This response is followed by an "m" response, the storm, or verbatim: "Gloom, or a very bad storm over dark water." Inanimate movement (m) and the perspective penetration of shaded areas (FK) combine here in a very tempestuous reaction of fear, threat, and anxiety, all on the basis of painfully felt inadequacy.

Whether Margaret's reaction to card VI, where she first sees the central portion, the usual masculine symbol, as a "greek pillar," means reliance on or

striving for masculinity cannot be discerned on the basis of this material alone. Architecture occurs in two more responses. Rapaport points out that this type of response, which is rare in records of females, may be suggestive of "masculine strivings," but he also warns that this interpretation should be used with caution. In Margaret we see strong ambition in the large number of responses and in the frequent re-interpretations of the same areas, showing that she is not easily satisfied with what she has done. She wants to exhaust the solutions; she wishes for variety and actually finds many original interpretations. But, unless we consider her desire for intellectuality a sign of masculine striving, we must say that her concepts fluctuate without any marked preference: the concept of the Greek pillars is followed by an extremely sensuous feminine interpretation, "wool," a reaction to shading without consideration of shape, a concept of softness and of tactile sensation. While a considerable percentage of girls in her group block on either the masculine or the feminine portion of this blot, Margaret reacts with impartial acceptance to both as if she had not yet taken a stand.

In Margaret, the greatest difficulties are not those of arising sex, although they are present, but family relations and sibling rivalry in particular. Her social relations, impeded by insecurity in family relationships, cannot properly develop. She forces it in some cases, as reflected in an FC response where she fails in her strained efforts to combine the color aspects of a blot with its shape. She cannot utilize her good intelligence in the service of social adjustment. Her impulsive and uncontrolled reactions defy her occasional struggle for mastery. Such failures in an adult would mean incapacity to the point of pathology. In this record, they indicate blatantly unsolved problems of adjustment to reality, which is too complex to be really understood, but to which the normal adult has found some cue acceptable to himself and society.

Margaret's record, in its overflexibility, its feeling of being overwhelmed by the outside world, its anxiety reactions and fantasies, reflects the labors for adjustment in an oversensitive, overstimulated child. If we wish to accept the analytical language, Margaret's first response to card III mirrors the full confusion of her unresolved Oedipal attachment: "These two men are leaning over a pot, they seem to be my father." Again the projection of her father on the card is an act of overconcreteness which ordinarily denotes severe regression in an adult, but bespeaks only the violence of this prepuberal girl's fight for independence from very strong infantile attachments.

GRAPHOLOGY

This handwriting shows quite unusual confusion. If it were less sensitive and less active it would seem pathologically disturbed. As it is, it shows unusual insecurity and timidity, but at the same time vital drive and aggression.

The stroke is fine, thin, and sensitive to touch. It shows occasional sharpness in endings, which is an expression of sudden temper outbursts. However, in some places it sags suddenly, losing its vigor completely. This girl has two different attitudes toward failure: one is irritation and childish vehemence, the

other is depressive pensiveness and dejection. She must, for the reason of such behavioral variety, seem moody and undependable in her work and social relations. On the other hand, a wide range of reactions can be an asset for future adjustment. Margaret is very intelligent, stresses intellectuality, and has quite a considerable richness of emotionally tinged thoughts for her age. Despite sudden emotional shifts which in some places reach a panic which changes her writing in almost all its measurable features, she is still capable of keeping the rows of lines assunder and unentangled, with a few exceptions, in places of great emotional weight (wedding story, page 5).

Here we see the enormous change in size as well as in width and in slant, the impulse in rivalry. She describes a girl on her sister's wedding day, arousing an inner storm which cannot be controlled. Excitement reflects itself in the angular up and down of the "n" in "then" which shows as much repressed aggression as the daggerlike ending stroke of the word, "Anne," which carries openly released aggression.

Oversized upper zone loops in "l, k, h, t" and quite as long lower loops in "g, j, y" encompass a wide realm of high intellectual aspirational (upper zone) as well as fantasies in the deep instinctual spheres of sexual and biological processes. The thinness of strokes evidences that sensuality is refuted, not accepted; but the confused and inconsistent variation of forms in the lower loops reveals a tumultuous jungle of strong but undirected stirrings in that realm. Some of those lower loops are fatigued and show hardly any pressure. Frustrated and exhausted, they reflect the writer's complete surrender to fearful images and an almost suicidal longing for peace and rest. There are many places in which Margaret's vitality seems to fade out. The stroke melts away and leaves no reality trace on the paper (last page, "ught"). This happens exclusively in the lower zone which normally is the reservoir of vital energies.

The writing is quite dense, leaving little air and space free for the background to become an active participant in the optical picture of the written page. This cramped thronging of letters is compulsive tension which attempts to prevent inherent anxieties from their enforced expression. Cramped, yet expanding their upper and lower protrusions, the letters pretend and attempt to conquer and cover every free space in every field. Fatigue and depressive discouragement follow the excess of aspiration and drive. The dots over the "i's" are either floating high above, thrust up into the air, or they stick heavily right over the stem.

Although the sudden swings from elated to dejected states characterize the writing, there seems to be sufficient flexibility shown in the incidence of compromising thread-forms to preclude the presence of immediate danger for mental health.

HUMAN FIGURE DRAWING

Margaret is presented as an especially disturbed girl whose problems extend beyond those common to the prepuberal phase of growth. She is more than usually self-absorbed, tends to excessive oversensitivity, positive and extreme emotional convictions, and shows a tendency to rather unwholesome rationaliza-

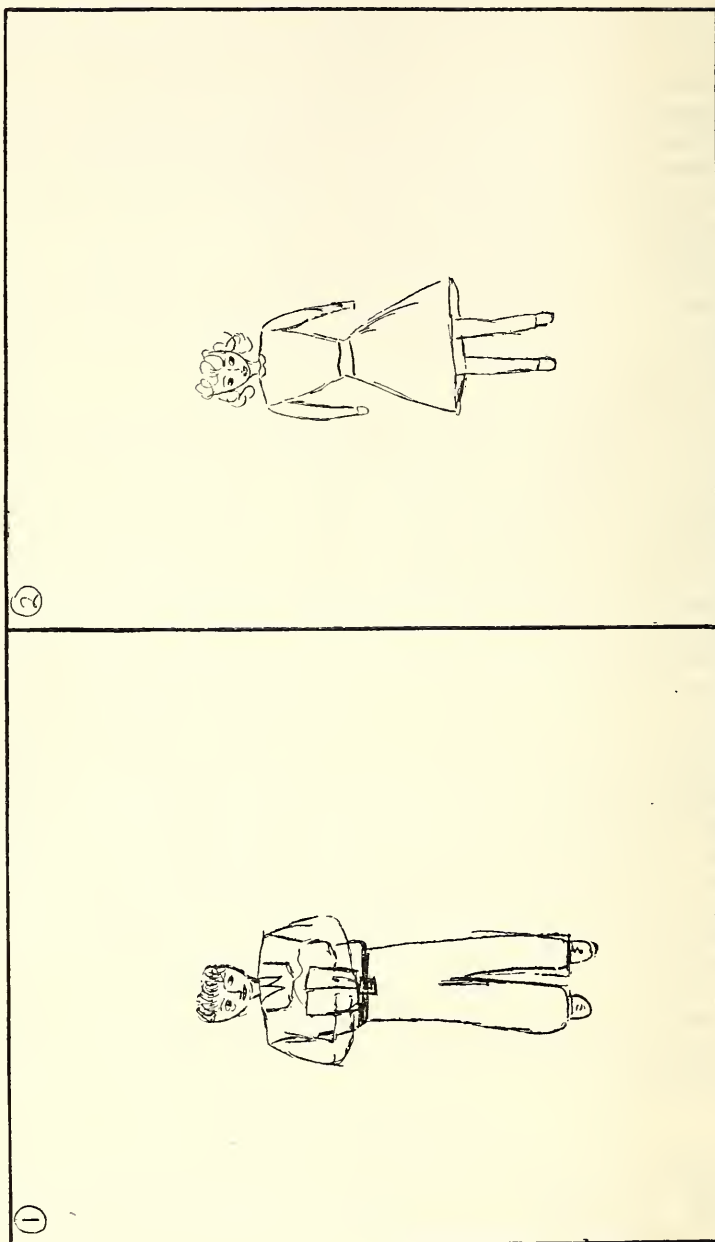


PLATE X—Human Figure Drawings by Margaret (prepuberal).

tions and apprehensions. The verbal portraits which she constructs for her male and female figures are sad stories of discouragement and resignation for the female, tied to an utterly nervous and inadequate male who is too absorbed in business to give any warmth to his family and who is further handicapped by deformity and self-consciousness. A background of parental friction, rejection of the children, especially Margaret, and attachment to an over-worked and frustrated mother is here projected by an emotionally immature, over-intellectual, and family-fixated girl who is not free to extend herself into any independent growth into adulthood. Is it possible that the younger sister is intensifying this gross feeling of rejection by the father?

The need for father acceptance contributes to the sexual wavering that is seen in this older prepuberal group. The male figure is drawn first and a considerable degree of self-identification may be assumed with some of the faults and handicaps saddled upon this male figure. He is unequivocally a father figure, although Margaret does not concede any identification with either the female mother figure or male father figure. The male is described as 38. Parentage models are more characteristic of the younger prepuberals studied, and in this case must pertain to severe unresolved problems in the home which have arrested Margaret's development. The female is 36. She is looking at her undone housework, while the male is reading a business report. The outside interests of the male and the household drudgery of the female set a note of family attitudes and allegiances. Both are married and have two children, two girls, which is Margaret's family constellation. The female is just devoted to raising her children, and Margaret spontaneously adds at the end of the portrayal, "She has no ambition but her children. Maybe that's what growing up does for you." The male is given no ambition beyond becoming a clerk. He is a generally unfavorable character. He is a bit less smart than the female, and not quite so healthy. Furthermore, the male is not good looking, while the female is very good looking. The only bad part of the female is her dishpan hands, while the male suffers from some deformity of his right eye and his face is out of proportion. Is there anything wrong with Margaret to account for this projection? The male becomes angry when someone comments on his face. He is very self-conscious and has fits of temper. His only virtue is that he is truthful. He has few friends and they are younger. These last defects all seem to be painful self-identifications. The female has no faults, understands her children, has many intimate friends, enjoys her family, and wishes for her children to grow up nicely. The male, on the other hand, is nervous and tense with the children. He got along with his wife before the children came along, showing a distinct feeling of intruding upon her parents and rejection by the father. People find the male dull, while the female is well liked.

The character study of the male is relentless in its deprecation of the male, who is clearly the father figure. The portrait appears to contain traits of her father with some self-traits which she rejects and adds to his burden of personality defects. The fact that the male was drawn first and given more graphic detailing and energy emphasis adds to the impression that substantial self-identification is projected. Does Margaret feel "bad looking," unpopular, oversensitive, and is she subject to fits of temper? The vision of collapsed vitality

in the female, and defeat and rejection surrounding the male, constitute very disheartening ego-models to which to aspire at the threshold of adulthood. The graphic models are indeed exhibits of self-consciousness, fear, uncertainty, and timidity. Although the male is described unfavorably in the verbal portrait, the drawing of the male is actually larger, approximating Margaret's own fullness and blousiness of figure. He shows more energy in line pressure and degree of detailing, and is given much graphic self-identification. Both have an expression of painful self-consciousness. Though the female is given greater stature in the verbal image, she is treated scantily with light, timid line, prim and meager clothing, and greater tension of posture than the male. The expression is that of begging for approval. Need for social participation is pronounced (reinforcement of contour of head, stress on facial features). There is self-absorption, depression and fear, but no real withdrawal or schizoid qualities to the drawings. Rather there is affectional hunger, loneliness, weak intellectual compensations, fear of growing up (hemline disturbance, no sexual characteristics), and extreme collapse of confidence (weak arms and thin legs of female).

Placement and stance are fairly aggressive, with the male allowed more expression of aggressive drives than the female. Size of figures is realistic and suggests no special glamour or daydreaming aspirations. There is an effort for the arms to go out toward the environment in the timid female figure, but the male replaces with books or business reports contact and warmth with people. Is Margaret herself smart and does she substitute that for her emotional needs? She projects that trait upon the male in the associations. We find a ruminative and over-intellectual quality expressed in some evidences of obsessive detailing on the male and the tendency to symmetry in both figures. The neck reinforcement in both figures, and the head askew, off the main body axis, suggest extreme difficulties in coordinating her impulse and rational life. The covering of the forehead in both figures would suggest a real preference for more impulse and less brainy self-expression. Sexual stirrings are apparent, but they are marked only by a smudged and irritable emphasis on the inner leg and crotch of the male figure, a tendency toward transparency in the hemline of the female, and a decorous lacing of the male shoe (frequently a sexual symbol). The dark reinforcement of waistline separating the "above" from the "below" of the male figure speaks more for forceful efforts to avoid meeting the problem of increasing sexual interest. The random shading on the waist of the male reflects feelings of body rejection, and perhaps ill health. There is certainly a reluctance to fully accept growth in the bosom area as a symbol of female maturity. The pronounced emphasis upon the buckle of the male belt accords with the repeated evidence of strong mother attachment, as well as bearing the interpretation of increasing sexual interest. In her associations, Margaret does say that she would like to be like the female figure "a little bit."

To summarize, we see here a relatively advanced prepuberal girl, perhaps at the threshold of maturity, undergoing an especially painful transition because of an unwholesome relationship with the parents which has not been resolved. Friction in the home, further intensified by rivalry with a younger and perhaps father-accepted sister, rejection of her body image, and complete discouragement

with the parent adult models have all massed upon an oversensitive, high-strung, very bright girl to burden her with profound emotional difficulties and to encourage infantile emotional fixation.

HORN-HELLERSBERG TEST

On first view, Margaret's test looks different from those of the other children. On every picture the given lines are used but she connects them with a heavy line which forms a closure around an empty space. These empty closures dominate the first eight pictures. From (9) to (12) she introduces some elaboration, e.g., the eyes of a baby and a deer. First she starts with a map view, "Indian Settlement." After this attempt at rationalization, she produces images with more emotional expressions.

In spite of very scanty presentation, using one line, the objects speak for themselves. There are twice a single woman with an enormous nose. The picture, "Woman with hooked nose," is here shown as No. 1. The phallic resemblance is indisputable. In her description for the closure form shown here in picture No. 2, "A fallen down bed," she comments, "An evil bed which has caved down in the middle." No. 3, "Funny Airplane," she describes as a "Walt Disney airplane that's all crooked and wobbly"; the latter shows phallic forms similar to the hooked nose of No. 1. Two other closure forms are described as "Volcano" and "Temple in the Clouds."

The closure in No. 4 is called "A Brain." It has one circumscribed area which is shaded. Margaret explains: "A brain, it is mostly lines, but the white is good and the black is bad." The same pathological theme occurs in another picture. She gives square K a conventional drawing, a head. But she comments, "It is a baby with a big head, water on the brain, a sad thing." After that she pictures a deer, "Bambi," which she calls "new born." In the last three pictures, of which only two are reproduced, a sun appears. Picture 5 is called "Sun and clouds shining on a mountain." "This is the best picture. The sun on the cliffs. It does not look human." This sun symbol leads up to picture 6, her last picture, drawn in the square without lines. She does not make any comment about it and also does not give it a title. The sun is shaded and on the right side one sees a cliff falling steeply down. Toward the sun a needle-form ledge stretches horizontally. On it a tiny figure is drawn as a storkman with a big head. This picture is probably the climax to the emotional story presented in this test. It looks like a figure ready for suicide in front of the shaded sun.

In spite of the scanty production in drawing, Margaret's unconscious revelations are so vivid that the formal evaluation of her test adds little to this picture of her emotional condition. The evaluation of the contents in Chart A shows that her objective reality is not more than 5 per cent; the average for her age level is 30 per cent. There is considerable clustering in the danger zone, as decaying and morbid elements are frequent. The objects are full of emotional contents and fantasy products. Her defense against such inner images is weak and the repressive zone only shows one map, drawn at the beginning of the test. After this no attempt is made to control her expressive images. The moun-

tain described as a "Volcano" hints of nature elements. Life objects appear only as the brain-sick baby and the newborn deer. Two women with big noses are humorous figures.

The Horn-Hellersberg Test shows, therefore, an emotional problem which, at this moment, cannot be handled by the girl. The threatening sun, as the father figure, overwhelms her and seems to throw her completely off balance, a fact of which she hints in the last picture. Her reality contact has already been weakened considerably and the emotional pressures under which she lives produce morbid images. Twice the brain is pronounced as sick, and it is well possible that her emotional distress produces some mental and nervous strain which puzzles her. One may question whether this immediate mental danger can be related merely to a struggle in her developmental process. She appears to us as a girl in urgent need of therapeutic help. Otherwise, her prognosis can only be a pessimistic one.

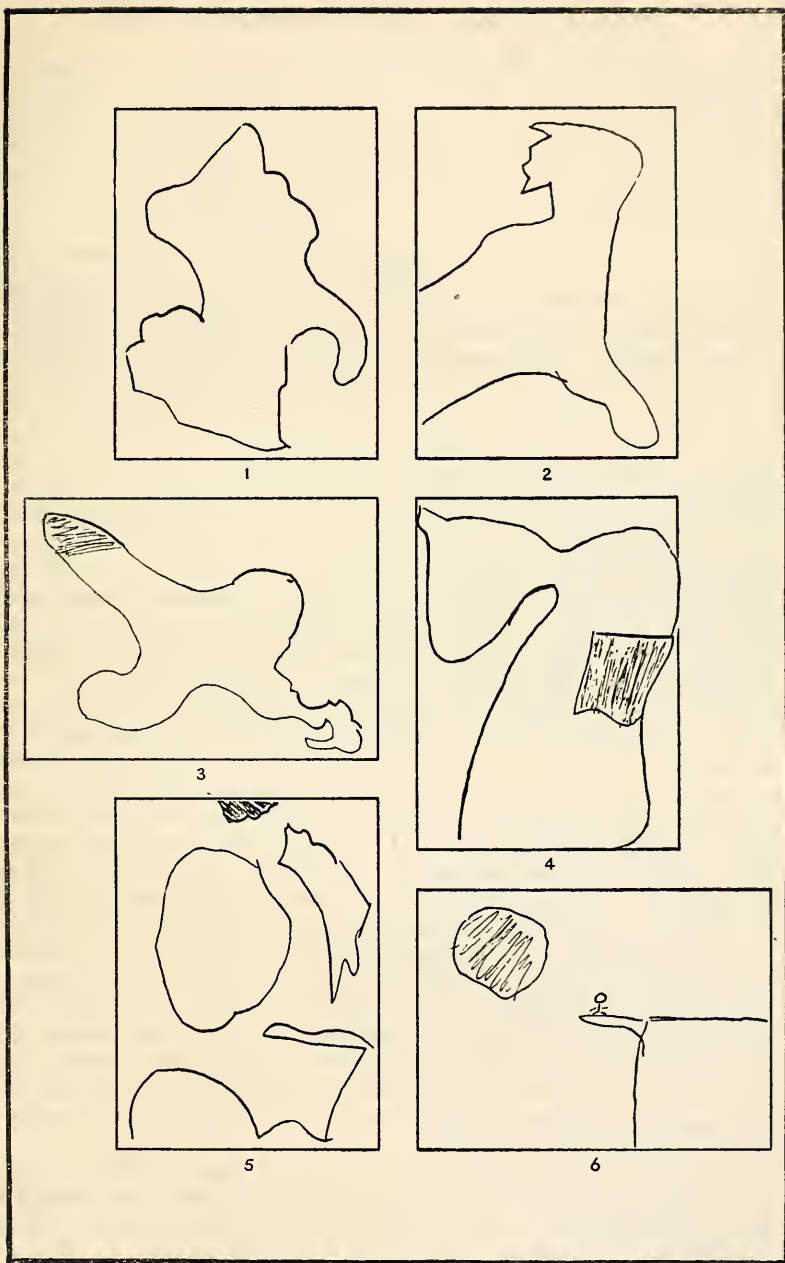


Plate XI—Horn-Hellersberg Test pictures drawn by Margaret (prepuberal).
1. Woman with hooked nose. 2. A fallen down bed. 3. Funny airplane. 4. A brain.
5. Sun and clouds shining on mountain. 6. Person on cliff.

N I N A

Prepuberal

SUMMARY

Nina shows relatively good adjustment (R, TAT, HH), and those difficulties which she does have seem to be fairly typical of the prepuberal period (R).

Nina has above average intelligence (FD, HH, TAT), and is realistically ambitious (R, FD). That she has no unduly high ambitions is partially due to her feelings of inadequacy (G). She is sensitive to her shortcomings and does not feel herself as particularly intelligent (FD). She seems to be practically inclined (R, FD) and directs little effort or interest to speculative thinking, complex tasks (R), or aesthetic beautification (G). Her sense of direction is relatively weak (HH). Although she is still much aware of a fantasy world (HH), concrete, everyday things are seen most vividly by her (HH, TAT). She is resourceful (HH); she has a differentiated approach to reality (HH), and a good capacity for work (HH). However, her interest in and sometimes frantic activity with details is partially a defense against tension and anxiety (FD, R, HH). At times she is over-critical, and her doubt often appears as a compulsive mechanism, the purpose of which is to relieve her fears (R).

She feels her environment as hostile and threatening (R, FD), and there is some introjection of its threatening quality (FD). She is uncertain of her role and place in the environment (G, R). Although she appears to be basically extroverted (R, FD, TAT), she also seems to have a rather defensive attitude in regard to the environment (G). Concern and self-doubt frequently interfere with free emotional display, but on the whole she shows assertive freedom in her relations with the environment (G). At times she may provoke scenes and be quite loud and outspoken (G). She is active (FD, G) and high spirited (TAT), and her outlook is essentially optimistic and cheerful (FD, TAT).

There are indications of attachment to the mother (FD, TAT, G); she shows considerable hostility toward her father (FD, R, TAT). She is somewhat childish (R) and dependent (FD, R), and her interpersonal relationships tend to be immature (R). She has an intense need for personal relationships (FD, TAT), but she may be quite possessive and aggressive (FD). However, her own insecurity may prevent the aggression from reaching the surface (R, FD). There are also indications of negativism and stubbornness (R). She seems to be oversensitive to criticism (FD).

Nina does not find the adult world particularly attractive (HH). Although she is afraid of the future, she is prepared to meet it (G, FD). She is struggling for independence and sexual status (R, FD). Along with her anxiety, timidity (R), and lack of confidence (FD), there is a desire to abate the terrors of life (R).

She seems somewhat precocious in her psychosexual interests and is probably preoccupied with sexual images (G) and curiosity (FD). Nevertheless, there is

considerable anxiety (FD, R), insecurity (G, R), and fear (FD) in this area. She seems to be postponing the facing of sexual problems (G) and is probably somewhat evasive in her relations with boys (FD). G and FD report sexual wavering and no final decision about role acceptance; the HH states that she seems rather defensive about femininity; the TAT indicates that she has identified with the feminine role but given it an active interpretation. The fact that there are three brothers in the home may serve as partial explanation both for Nina's confusion and for the various interpretations, which, however, do not seem to be contradictory or mutually exclusive.

In addition to problems with the environment, there are, of course, problems within herself. There are pronounced body tensions (FD), and she is afraid of the happenings within herself (R). There are indications of depression (FD), and she must appear pessimistic and disturbed at times (HH).

THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

Here are delightfully told stories with quaint spelling. Nina is very specific about names and descriptions for her characters. The narratives are taken for the most part from the kind of life she must know and are relatively free from the bloodcurdling melodrama characteristic of the underprivileged children. Happy endings predominate. Nina has more stability and less basic hostility than most of her group. She appears to be a high spirited, extroverted, dominant girl who is as cheerful and well adjusted as her environment permits. She gets chummy with the reader in one place and takes him into her confidence; after noting how one must persist in striving for what one wants, she addresses her audience directly and says that "many of you went through similar experiences in life" (8). Intellectually, she would seem to be at least average and quite possibly higher.

Many of the narratives deal with family life and have a mother character as the point of focus. The school girl in (1) has trouble with her spelling; mother helps her and the next day she gets a perfect mark. In (12) the mother, who has been a "stage girl" herself, gives her daughter pointers on how to act in a school play, while in (7) the girl would have preferred taking her love problems to her mother if only her mother had lived, rather than to her father. In the continued story (10-11) a sister dreams of her brother's coming home from the war wounded; when he does return he actually is hurt. The sister weeps over his injury, but he is a "goner" and the angels take him away. Nina has a good relationship with her mother on whom she is emotionally dependent, much better than with the father who may bear some resemblance to the drunkard-brutalitarian in (4).

For a prepuberal girl of 13, she is precocious in psychosexual interests. In (2) there is a story of childhood sweethearts. Tommy slips out to be with Sally, whom his mother does not like because she is too "high class," but if his mother catches Tommy, she won't do much about it. Apparently mothers are too kindly or too indulgent to punish severely. In another story Nancy, 16, 4 foot 11 inches, with a very high I.Q. is thinking about her Greek teacher; all the other girls envy her because she is his favorite (3). Nina seems to be wishfully identifying with the heroine who is described as one of the rarest

girls in her class, a mysterious but superior creature. In (7) a boy and girl are in love but cannot marry because of family opposition from his sister. The story continues into (8) where the girl undertakes a campaign to win over the sister; she will succeed in her endeavor because "she is the most wonderful thing on two feet." Characteristic of several of her stories is the way in which external barriers to love are overcome by the strivings of the heroine. Nina is already identifying with the feminine role but is giving it a particularly active interpretation. She shows considerable vitality, self-will, and determination.

Nina does not reveal any strong motherly feelings in the one picture (8) which frequently evokes maternal identification. Nor are there any stories of worldly success either on the part of male or female characters. The nearest approach to career interest is the story about a girl who goes to Europe to entertain the soldiers; the ship is torpedoed and she becomes a shell shock case, but later recovers (9). School and personal relations for Nina are paramount. Boys are becoming increasingly important, but always in the background is the figure of the protective mother on whom she will continue for some time to be dependent.

RORSCHACH TEST

Nina's record is by no means that of a well adjusted person. It was selected because the maladjustment reflected in it is not too marked and very characteristic for this age group, the prepuberal girl. It reflects both the grave difficulties which Nina encounters within herself and outside in her environment, and also her assets which, considered in comparison with those of this whole economically and intellectually underprivileged group, are in themselves by no means prominent.

Nina is very realistically ambitious; she desires to understand and give recognition to facts. Her record of 29 responses contains only 21 per cent whole responses interpreting the entire inkblot area. That means little effort is made for the organization of more complex tasks, not much pride taken in speculative thinking. A slight overemphasis on small and unusual areas rather points towards a prevalent interest in work on a small scale, with energy focused on the detail. This trend is not exaggerated enough to be called compulsive, yet it presents a defense mechanism which Nina uses when she becomes frightened, anxious, and insecure.

Unlike most girls of her group, she does not tend to fly off into fantasies. The relation of human movement responses to color responses, usually considered indicative of the *Erlebnistyp*, meaning extraversion versus introversion, favors extraversion, indicated by the color responses. Nina is practically inclined; she has an adequate number of the areas of the most frequent responses ($D=48$, $P=5$). All of her concepts are sufficiently clear in perception so as not to constitute a "poor" or $F-$ response. These factors all suggest the girl's good general adjustment.

And yet the record shows a great deal of anxiety, of struggle, and of hostility. Among the unusual areas interpreted are some "space responses," which refer to the white background rather than to the inkblot proper. Such reversal of importance values was considered by Rorschach to be an indication of nega-

tivism and stubbornness. This attitude in Nina is accompanied by an over-criticism, which the Rorschach exposes by the large number of parts of the body mentioned in places where most people are able to include the surrounding area to build up entire human or animal figures: $(H+A) : (Hd+Ad) = 9:10$. Nina is evidently blocked in her capacity to see a full "Gestalt." Fear of her environment as well as of the happenings within herself can be seen at work in her Rorschach protocol. These are the factors bringing about her blocking, and it appears that this is just what makes her case a typical one for the pre-pubescent girl, and makes her adjustment-solution so interesting.

Out of the detail responses, there are six "faces," either "terrible" or "wild" or "grimacing"; all of them are frightening. Her first response to card I is "terrible face of a wolf," which she immediately reduces to "or maybe a bear, laughing, if he had smaller ears." Here we see Nina's desire to abate the terrors of life. The pattern is repeated: card II is first "a chipmunk," "could also be two lambs"; card IV is "a porcupine or a beaver," and VIII, due to color shock, is first interpreted as a "vampire's face," which is a forced whole response and the poorest in her record, and without improvement of accuracy it is changed to "a chipmunk's face." This constant wavering and changing is a compulsive mechanism of doubt. The fact that the change is without exception a mitigating process clearly reveals its dynamic function to relieve fear. The menace of the world meets a second rendition after the first shock is absorbed. However, the first impression is that of a hostile universe in which her place is not yet clearly mapped. Hostile concepts and those of timidity alternate, hostility being the primary reaction. Card IX is: "A dragon's face throwing up fire," followed by, in a different area, "just the tail part of a chicken." Card VIII, starting with the threatening "vampire," ends with "two little mice," and these are seen in the area where animals are "popular" and usually very definitely reflective of the subjects' concepts of themselves.

Nina is so insecure that her aggressions cannot reach the surface, so their manifestations remain subdued. Desirable or not, insecurity seems at this age one of the most important safeguards. Authoritative education made the most extensive use of it. Anxiety and insecurity are marked also in Nina's reference to sex. On card VI, which is the card with the most frequently found sexual connotations, she gives an anatomical response, "a fish, cut in halves, seen from the inside," and "a fox, seen from the back." Why she cannot face the fox, but sees him from the back, can be speculated about, but not ascertained. The dysphoric character of the entire blot is verbally established, for Nina comments in writing: "I didn't like this one, not much to say about it."

Nina's childishness and dependency become most evident in her responses to card VII, where she sees a rabbit and a rabbit's house, her own dog's face (and she gives the name of the dog) and a rather nicely perceived measuring cup. She is at her best among these objects of a young child's life; this is the one card where no sign of tension or anxiety appears, and its form level is highest. But even this card has no full figures and hardly any movement.

In spite of blocking, negativism and hostility, Nina shows a desire for adjustment. Her responses to card X indicate very well both her weakness in adjustment and good prognostic potentialities. She starts out with a fearful,

negativistic response to an unusual area, including white space. This is followed by "a mask," a symbol of evasion, of hiding and hiddenness, and it ends in the much friendlier concept of "a wishbone," very frequently seen. The record contains only one human movement response, reflecting the immaturity of her interpersonal relationships, and certainly related to her negativistic, hostile attitudes which are founded probably in some difficulties with her father. Although there is no definite evidence for the assumption that responses to card IV relate to ideas connected with paternal authority, there is some empirical material in its favor. On these grounds it can be speculated that the distrust in her environment which has stunted Nina's capacity for human rapport, was at least partially conditioned by an antagonistic father. This, however, should be confirmed by tests other than the Rorschach. Similarly, the two anatomical responses in the protocol, while suggestive of some somatic concern, are not indicators of specific symptoms or anxieties, but denote a problem rather than its solution, which other projective techniques might be able to clarify.

GRAPHOLOGY

Nina's handwriting is natural and its spread is not dammed in. This denotes assertive freedom in her relations with the outside world. Her pressure, however, is not rhythmical, nor is the writing fast, so that concern and repeated self-doubt must be assumed to interfere frequently with the free display of her emotions. It is evident that, while she can handle the problems of her everyday life fairly well she is afraid of the future; her letters are firm and not too rigid, and her very natural righthand slant is generally well preserved.

The size of letters in the middle zone changes frequently. This is indicative of the insecurity generally felt by the growing girl about the amount of space allotted to her by society. Should she become a heroine? Her capitals and upper zone strokes, although tall, are nowhere exaggerated, so that it appears that her ambitions are managed relatively better than those of other girls in her specific group, who show overloaded flourishes and inflections much more frequently. Her problems do not appear centered around her ambition. Although somewhat fearful of the future, it is her acute frictions which are the core of her difficulties. In the writing, it is the middle zone which has an irregular, frequently very sharp, pressure emphasis. Nina must be able to provoke scenes and sudden charges of irritability, which show her to be quite loud and outspoken. Her letters are not refined nor do they show any attempt at aesthetic beautification. Unlike most other girls, she does not appear too interested in stylizing or embellishing forms, and she probably rather neglects clothing and looks. The very marked pressure in the lower loops contradicts their shortened, one-dimensional performance. Nina is doubtlessly preoccupied with sexual images, but insecure and not too inventive about this content.

It may appear from the left-side bent of some lower loops and from their ill differentiated shaping, that primary mother identification is still dominant, so that Nina has not yet advanced far in taking up a role of her own. This means that a state of clearcut homo-eroticism may lie ahead of her before she can come to her final conclusion about role acceptance. In this regard she seems younger, although less disturbed, than most girls of her school, whose more

inflated lower loops express wilder sexual fantasies in grosser distortion. Nina seems to face away from sexual problems, which, of course, is a somewhat vulnerable defense.

Shrinking away from both unduly high ambitions (no emphasis on upper zone) and shunning indulgence in sexual fantasies (no emphasis on lower zones) leave to the everyday middle, the center of the writing, good space and proper accentuation. Therefore, what seems and so often is an indication of excellent poise, namely the convergence of energies in the central zone, is in Nina's case partially due to a reduction of ambition because of inadequacy feelings, combined with her pushing herself away from and delaying consideration of sexual problems. This delay might be helpful if she receives enough encouragement to grow stronger, so that her decision would then take a direction which could be followed without friction.

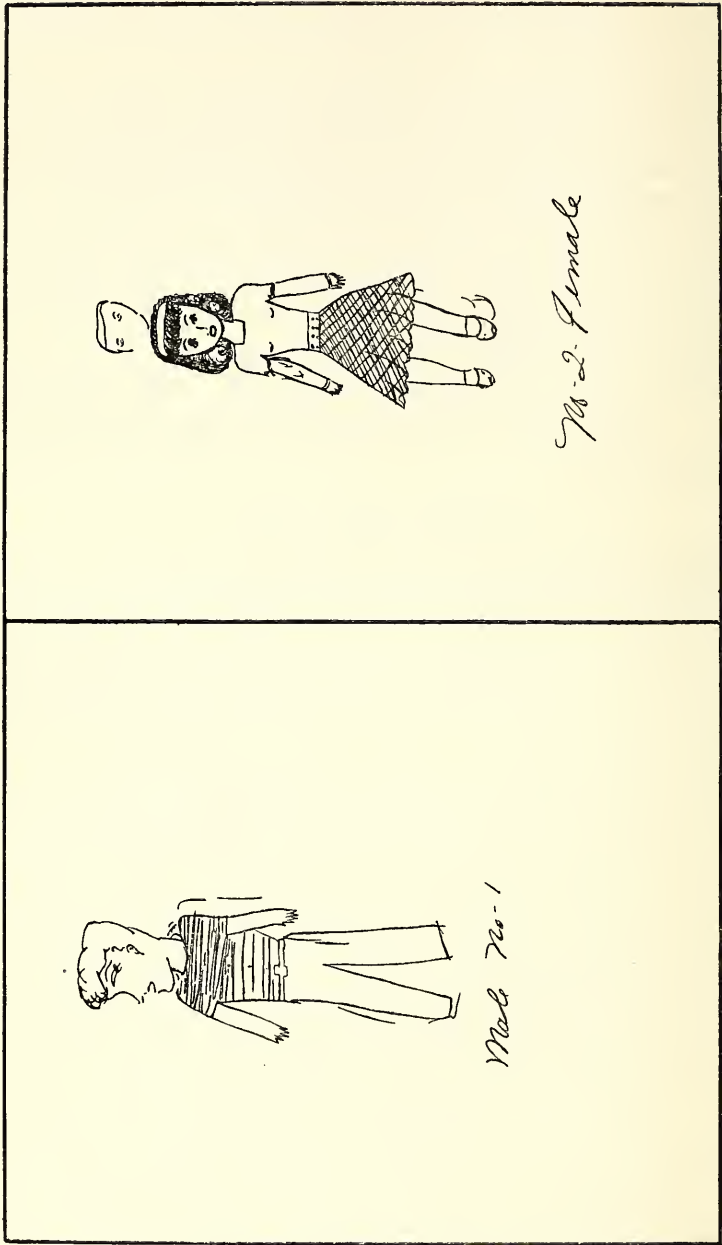
The picture which can be seen at present is that of a girl who is fairly interested in her daily life activities and whose fears of the future do not destroy an active present. Despite her self-centeredness (frequent very round, inflated letters), she reaches out into her environment with some determination to defend herself.

HUMAN FIGURE DRAWINGS

Nina drew the male figure first, assigned him an age close to her own (14), and endowed him with many traits specific to her own personality. Although the sexual wavering implied in her partial identification with the male is not too unusual for her age group, Nina does stand out from her particular socio-economic group insofar as the majority show more ready identification with the female figure than do the girls of the higher socio-economic brackets. The presence of three brothers in the home may serve to intensify confusion of sexual identifications.

Nina is a bright, positive, active, and forceful girl with more ambitious ego aspirations than many of her own school group. However, she shows more realism, is more practical, and more sensitive to her shortcomings than some of her school group who have set up indeterminate goals and are inclined to operate on a level of wishful thinking. Both the male and female characters portrayed by Nina are given ages close to her own, unlike the young adult models of most of her school group. They are both active. The female is described as walking, while the male is "looking to cross the streets." The latter theme sets the tone of anticipation encountered frequently in the pre-adolescent, who is on the threshold of a new phase of her life. Furthermore, the crossing of the street involves a threat of danger and adventure which marks Nina as afraid of the future, but entirely prepared to meet the enterprise.

In the associations to the figures, Nina describes them as healthy, but the female is not so smart nor good looking. In her descriptions, she vacillates in attributing self-traits to the male, sometimes imposing upon him traits that she rejects for herself, and sometimes using him as a focus for projection of her wishes. Since the male was the first figure drawn, he was largely saddled with Nina's feelings of inferiority in regard to good looks, intelligence (Nina is recorded as a reading retardate), and bad habits like biting nails, leaving books



Mr. & Female

Male No. 1

PLATE XII—Human Figure Drawings by Nina (prepuberal).

in school, and occasionally playing hookey. He watches younger children, while in reality it appears that Nina does baby-sitting. The female is also given her share of Nina's faults. She is described as worried about school tests, chewing nail polish, slouching, walking like a Zombie. The last suggests some introjection of a threatening environment. Both male and female characters have good reputations, have many friends their own age, love their family, and are anxious to get out of school. They both lose their temper. Both like fun, dancing, and going out, but the female goes out only on Saturday night, while the male, though younger, goes out every night with girls. The fancied freedom of the male becomes especially important in this phase of sexual uncertainty. The male will marry an intelligent girl at 20 while the female will marry a boy she likes at 22. Note the earlier marriage of the male, which is traditionally not realistic, and also that the male will hold out for an intelligent girl (which Nina does not feel that she herself is), while the female will just marry a boy that she likes. To be a good wife, raise a good family, and be a grandmother are given as the wishes for the female, and the male is not given any goals. The need to be successful and a good manager reflects some of the conscientious qualities seen in her drawings.

In the drawings we find that the achievement, the social dominance, and the intelligence which Nina craves are given to the male (whose head is relatively much larger). On the other hand, the compact determination of the female model, the relatively aggressive wide stance, the sturdy legs, the large, substantial feet, the strong arms, and the forceful line, all give greater strength to the female figure despite the relatively larger size of the male. The male is given fancy coiffuring, effeminate eyes and lashes, weak mouth and nose, shorter arms and omission of feet, all features of weakness and insecurity. He is given the profile head which is considered significant of evasion, and it is judged that Nina is quite uncertain and even evasive in her relationships with boys.

Although Nina shows considerable family consciousness, similar to most of the prepuberal girls, she is already straining at the leash for some independence and sexual status. She is rather slow in menstrual development, especially in relation to her cultural group. The abundant evidence of anxiety, sexual curiosity, restlessness, and intensity of fear and confusion of sexual identifications projected in her drawings may be seen in the light of her acute puberal tensions. In an effort to control the tension and anxiety, we find Nina converting these depressive promptings into busy and frantic activity within the refuge of small details (note the shading manifestation of sexual anxiety in the skirt region, rationalized into a skirt design with tireless devotion to making checks. Note further the sexually symbolic energy that is concentrated in the hair treatment of the female, kept in neat restraint by an unusually executed white band and by what appears to be a hairnet. Again, the excessive restraint seen in the waist-line is sublimated into a decorative belt. Only in the shading of her right arm does Nina permit random anxiety indications. We find strong exhibitivè needs carefully held in check by restrained glamour effects in the female and a tendency to compensation in body modesty (binding of margins of clothing).

Graphic features of dependence are more freely given to the male in the narcissistic, effeminate, and weak body features, and in the buttons in the mid-

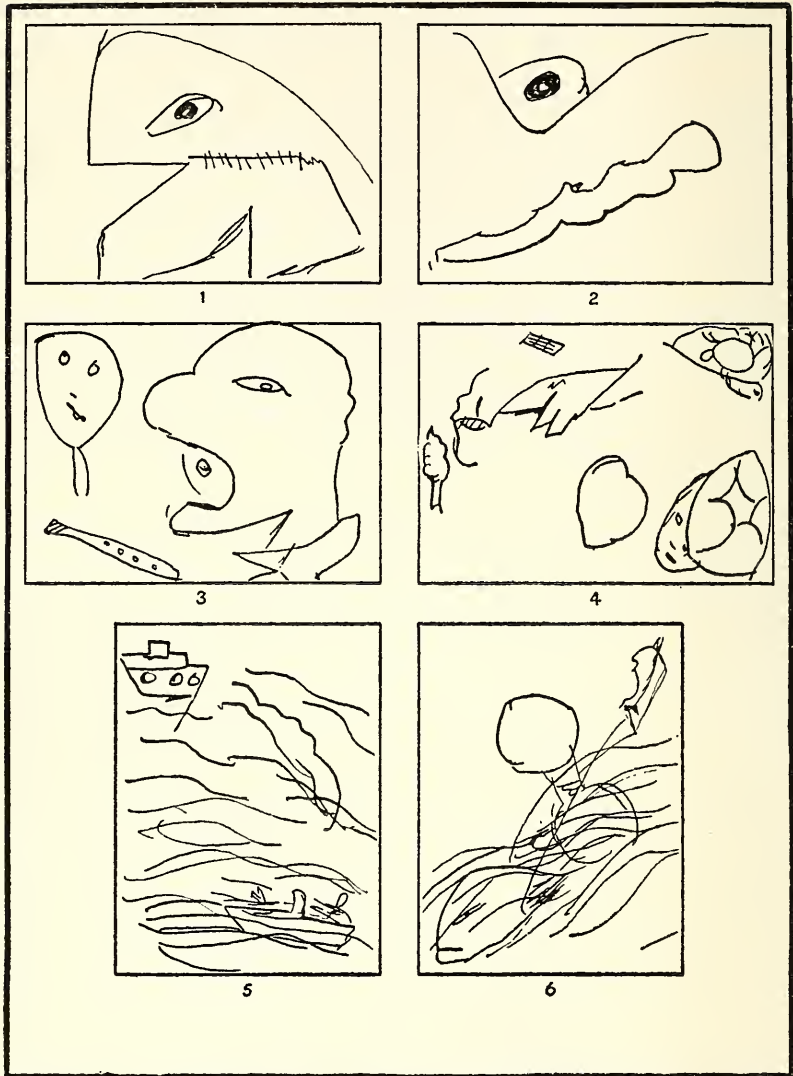


PLATE XIII—Horn-Hellersberg Test pictures drawn by Nina (prepuberal).

- | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Fish face—Scare Boy | 2. Eye, Dagger |
| 3. Lollipop face—anvil flute | 4. Tree, Bonnet, Face, Heart |
| 5. Boat Submarine, water | 6. Canoe—fish bell in the ocean |

line, and the pronounced buckle, denoting mother attachment. The rather emphasized breasts of the female, with evidence of erasures, are, for a prepuberal, special notations of mother dependence in the language of the body. The size of both drawings is realistic and compact. The placement is fairly optimistic and not lacking in extraversion and aggression, and the force of line is dominant. The reinforced head contour speaks for a need for social participation, but the speared fingers suggest a possessive and aggressive quality in her interpersonal contacts, which may interfere with her popularity. She is, furthermore, rather oversensitive to criticism, a feature which she expresses in the ear of the male. Arms of the female are longer and more ambitious than those of the male. In the treatment of the hair, we find the female possessing much more sexual vitality than the male, although the male is given considerable coiffure emphasis. The area is empty though. The facial expression on each of the drawings complement each other insofar as the female figure shows fearfulness, and the male appears to be the admonishing agent. Is the father or a brother authoritarian? The direction and flow of the arms show outward but inhibited lines, suggesting forceful and dominant impulses, fearfully restrained.

Nina displays many positive features in her drawings which justify the opinion that she will pull through her critical prepuberal tensions successfully. The fear, depression, lack of confidence, and pronounced body tensions manifested should subside with a clearer definition of Nina's puberal status and maturity. Difficulty in sexual identification is not seen as any indication of rejection of the female role, but rather as feelings of inferiority relative to that role which may be reinforced by the largely male element in her home.

HORN-HELLERSBERG TEST

Nina draws quite a range of different objects. Also, the variety of mental approaches to these objects is unusually large. This indicates the vividness of her mind and her good capacity for a differentiated approach to reality. This latter fact is unusual for a girl of the milieu from which she comes, an Italian section of the lower east side in New York. We are justified in concluding that her mental endowment is well above average. Her working capacity is amazing too. Though she has difficulties in bringing single objects into proper relation, she nevertheless carries through. This proves that she has an amazing work training already behind her.

The concrete objects she produces are the following: "Funny Faces at a Fun House" (obviously Coney Island); "Clouds"; "Central Park" (twice); "Cartoon Picture"; "Comic Book"; "East River"; "Lasso and Horse"; "Fish and a Bell in the Ocean"; "Somebody Getting Mad and Throwing Daggers"; "Various Hats"; and "A Scare Boy" (which she imagined when telling a story to a baby). In the later pictures she becomes more and more emotional and her contents turn to themes reflecting tension in her environment. The "Scare Boy," here reproduced as picture 1, is just a fish-face with big mouth and teeth. He looks with scary eyes and the same enormous eye appears single over a dagger (picture 2). "When people get mad at each other, they throw daggers at each other." This undoubtedly reflects brawls in the Italian section where the use of knives is not too unusual. Such experiences, of course, frighten her.

In the last picture, not reproduced here, she draws a design which she saw on a teacher's smock. Here Nina makes a movement typical for her developmental level. She recovers quickly, returning to concrete details. She is open for factual observation after other reality facts have disturbed her.

Her fantasy life is stimulated by the following objects: costumes, comic strips, funny faces, a lollypop with a face (see picture 3). In fact, these are the objects which first come into her mind. The adult world does not appear too attractive to her, and femininity is represented by: design for clothes, hats, Easter bunnies (see picture 4). The structure of boats which appear twice is high. The boats remind more of the steamboats with phallic elements drawn by boys. This is some evidence of a defense of her femininity. Two boats appear in picture 5 (boat, submarine and water). Picture 6 shows "a canoe, fish, bell in the middle of the ocean." Both water pictures show a spatial integration with much movement. They really present a whole. One is inclined to relate these underwater pictures which occur frequently in prepuberty to a prepuberal feeling of emotional and physical secrets not yet clear.

Nina's weakness in creating a whole is definitely a liability. In spite of her capacity to produce work and carry on in an animated way from picture to picture, her sense of direction is relatively weak. Single matters attract her fantasy and for a good while distract her from more serious aspects of life; she shows some needs for this distraction and the result is dissipation of her abilities. Most of her pictures are collections of single impressions, spatially unrelated, without an urge to create a whole. There are numerous single objects which appear as closures, indicating a need for retreat. Nina carries on in spite of these difficulties and shows resourcefulness. From the point of view of the school she is well adapted at present. However, her future development will depend on the strength of integrative forces which need to be supported by more favorable situations than she meets at present in her environment. No doubt she is pessimistic and disturbed at times.

B A R B A R A

Puberal

SUMMARY

Barbara is a bright girl (FD, G, R) from a relatively sheltered home (FD). She is quite self-absorbed (G, FD), engaged in an attempt to understand herself (HH). Still quite dependent (FD), she seeks security (HH) and self-assurance (G). She has a strong interest in furtive means of pleasing (G). She appears shy (R, G), passive and subdued, without real aggression. However, the TAT indicated lively affect, possible aggression and tomboyishness; the FD found indications of aggression; and the HH found that she was receptive to her inner urges but did not know how to relate them to social demands and rules.

Barbara feels that the environment is aggressive, and she is suspicious (G), fearful, distrustful, and cautious (R) in her dealings with it. She has become quite skillful in avoiding conflict (G). She becomes evasive and withdraws (R), avoiding issues, arguments, and definite attitudes (G). In short, she avoids friction by avoiding depth (G). This type of defense may partially explain the apparent passivity found on the Rorschach, without excluding the more intense emotional life, perhaps existing on a deeper level and fairly well controlled, that was found on the TAT. Although she shows a capacity for affection (TAT), she is not demonstrative (R). She is unwilling to form deep attachments (G) or experience strong emotions (R) which might be threatening to her. Similarly, her sensitivity (R, TAT, HH) is also used for the purpose of self-protection (G, HH). She has a capacity for much more outgoing behavior (R), but she spends enormous effort in keeping unconscious content under rational control (HH). She tends to escape into daydreams (R) to relieve the tension (R, FD, HH). At times, however, she may be very outspoken and tactless (G). The FD found indications of ambition, while the TAT found only the barest suggestion of desire for worldly achievement. The apparent discrepancy here may be related to family demands for success. At any rate, concentration on school work is not easy for her because of her own inner problems.

Barbara seems to be rather discouraged (FD, TAT), feels inadequate and awkward (FD). There is a fair amount of anxiety present (FD, R, G, HH) and she seems somewhat sad (FD) and depressed at times (TAT). There is a good deal of ambivalence about growing up (FD). Her childhood is a little too comfortable for her to leave readily (FD, R), and she is frightened by adulthood (R) and confused about her future goals (FD).

Barbara's home appears to be adult dominated (FD), with possible friction between the parents (TAT). The mother is probably dominant and Barbara identifies with her (FD, TAT). There is also rivalry with a sister (FD). While she may be a disciplinary problem (TAT), parent-child problems seem rather superficial, perhaps as a result of attempts to contain her vitality (TAT).

Questions of physical maturity are most acute (HH) and there is some sexual wavering (FD, G) and conflict (HH). The TAT gives evidence of more than usual sexual maturity, connected with real feeling, while the Rorschach indicates that she seems to be waiting and does not yet show much warmth. On the whole, the picture is one of control; her curiosity (HH) and heightened sexual feelings are restrained (FD), and she tends to withdraw from sexual situations (FD). She would like to postpone the solution of the sexual problem (HH). There is also sexual shame (R) and guilt over masturbation.

She is definitely feminine (G) and there is no evidence of rejection of sexual role (R), but she readily entertains thoughts of being like a boy (FD). Apparently she envisages the boy's role as more acceptable to her father, more compatible with her ambition, and connected with fewer restraints (FD). Her over-modesty is apparently a reaction formation related to her strong display needs (FD, R, G), and she also seems to be afraid of rejection (R).

All in all, the picture seems to be that of a girl whose problems are typical for her age period and economic group (R, FD, TAT), and who is handling them reasonably well now (R, G). Her capacities will enable her to grow into an adult without too much difficulty (G), although the transition into adulthood will probably be somewhat prolonged (R, FD).

THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

The narratives are full-bodied and imaginative. They show verve and lively affect as well as sensitivity. A characteristic which can usually be taken as a healthy sign is the presence of a wide variety of themes. Identification with fictional characters is strong with many of the stories in the first person.

Barbara's interests are centered in the home with parental characters figuring prominently in most stories. Parents persuade, scold, argue, punish, and discover mischief. Disciplinary problems are suggested by such stories as the one in which a small girl, who feels her parents do not understand her, steals a cousin's doll and is reprimanded by her mother. Also the youthful heroine in (3) has done "something awful," and the parents are debating about the seriousness of her offence when a new maid arrives on the scene to distract them. In (2) Barbara uses the first person singular and apparently is identifying with a boy who steals an apple; to avoid punishment he and his companion plan on running away but are caught by the boy's mother. In addition to the questions raised about stealing, the masculine identification and the disciplinary theme point to the possibility of tomboyish or "difficult" behavior.

There may be some tension between the parents, since in two stories mothers and fathers are found in violent disagreement. Maternal characters, often acting as disciplinarians, have a more prominent role than fathers. This would follow from the greater importance that the mother seems to have for Barbara. The daughter in (8) tries in vain to console her mother who is heartbroken over the reported death of her son overseas. The theme is repeated in (11) with a girl comforting her mother as a member of the family lies dying. Although there are difficulties at home, parental figures are not presented in an altogether unfavorable light. In one story a young girl remarks that when in trouble she usually has the help of her family. It is likely that basically Barbara is not made to feel

insecure or rejected, that any parent-child problems are relatively superficial and are in part the result of not very successful attempts to contain Barbara's restlessness and vitality.

More psychosexual maturity finds expression here than with most of the girls in the early adolescent group. Genuine feeling is put into her story of sweethearts being separated by the war; the heroine does not want to make a scene but both lovers feel that they will never see each other again. Later on the girl wonders if this feeling is justified (5). In (1) a man and wife argue about whether their daughter is old enough to have dates; the wife is favorable but the husband is opposed, with no decision being reached. This story could well be the projection of a current problem at home. Strangely enough, the story is told in the first person with the narrator identifying not with the daughter but with the wife. In several places Barbara identifies with grown women and mothers. Thus in (6) maternal feelings are shown by a refugee maid who has a way with children; this time Barbara again takes the role of the wife who is the narrator. Several times capacity for affection is shown, notably in story (5) and in (4) where the main character expresses great devotion to a dog that has been run over.

Only the the barest suggestion of a desire for worldly achievement can be worked out of her picture associations. The only story which could possibly be given such an interpretation is the one about a girl who loves farm life with its "sweet smelling hay and the wheat swaying in the wind," and who dislikes school but is persuaded by her parents to attend so that she can learn how to manage the farm (10).

Despite surface problems narrative tone is wholesome. Barbara is emotionally resonant and has considerable resources to cope with her not atypical problems in growing up, although she is inclined to be intense and somewhat impetuous. Besides the domestic difficulties, occasional discouragement and mild depression are implied by such stories of resignation as (9), which concerns a girl who thinks she will never walk again, feels lonely but tries to conceal the fact from her mother.

RORSCHACH TEST

This is a Rorschach record typical in its adjustment type. A bright girl, of 13½ years, solves the problems of her relationships with her environment by great caution and by an amount of withdrawal which is required for control and not really excessive. Barbara has to pay a rather high price for her control; but since she has found her ways of paying it, she can cope with her problems successfully. Her system is one so frequently seen in this puberal group that it can be regarded as typical, in spite of the very gross imbalance in her Rorschach graph, namely the complete lack of color responses. Color is avoided altogether, in its bright as well as in its sombre aspects. This means that Barbara has assumed withdrawal mechanisms in order to avoid friction. Yet, her withdrawal is neither complete, nor does it seem dangerous. The fact that she is able to react to shading, to accept its subtle values in some form, is evidence of her maintained potential capacity for a more outgoing behavior. It proves that this capacity is sometimes used in a socially refined, although guarded, manner. Anxiety is certainly present in this girl and it is painful and distresses her. One of her

shading responses occurs in answer to a colored card, proving that she is ready for the acceptance of delicate emotions rather than for more passionate feeling tones. In this selectivity she proves both capacity for control and for acceptance in a discreet, reserved manner. However, by far the larger part and the best quality of her emotional energies are spent on dreams and on wish fantasies.

Human movement and animal movement responses prevail. They are all of a subdued and often even evasive type, never abrupt, never violent. Barbara is a pensive child and none too active. Her best concepts are of a childish nature and there is a desire to cling to the past. This frequently occurs in the younger group, lingers much longer, and, later on, often helps to weave the adult life pattern in girls who have taken over rather than resented parental fears.

Although puberal sex themes already have arisen in her thinking, she has found no emotional version for them as yet. In the crucial area of card VI, where acknowledgment of femininity is expected as the usual implication, Barbara sees "two empty seats, back to back, in a restaurant with a coat-stand in the middle"—and she adds, "I like it." There is certainly no rejection of her sexual role, but the atmosphere is that of waiting, and of not too much warmth invested. The concept is rather original and well organized. Barbara's intellectual ambition is certainly not reduced, but rather successfully challenged by this card, which so often provokes "sex-shock" in other girls of her age group. She uses the shading values, but not in the interpretation of softness as it occurs in the most popular response to this card; Barbara perceives the usual "animal skin" as a "wooden bench." There is an attempt at control in this hardening of the material, which is often seen in women who are afraid of sexual rejection. Barbara is certainly not demonstrative. Her sensuality is somewhat rigidified; she has marked feelings of sexual shame. This response is not a warm, spontaneous one, and it demonstrates that Barbara relies on masculine means like her intellect more than on her feminine intuition in psychosexually challenging situations.

However, there is some confidence, warmth, and cheer in her human movement responses. On card X, "people are just holding hands." This expresses a shy but reassuring attitude. It is preceded by an "old-fashioned stove," a form of shading response which sets a friendly mood. However, Barbara emphasizes that the people are "standing still," while she sees "two beetles crawling and small bugs flying after the people." The people's quiet peace is obviously disturbed. Barbara feels the aggression of the outside world very strongly directed against her sweet fantasies of love. This is also why her very first response to the test is, like the last ones, "an insect," and it is "suspended in the air." The second response to card I also shows Barbara's fearful caution with regard to a doubtfully friendly world; it is one which is almost popular among her group, "a grinning mask."

In Barbara's record, as in many others, a wild animal, or fox, or cat, is grinning in the spurious cheer of masks. The idea of masking or hiding in this concept is associated with the "keep smiling attitude" in actually frightening situations. Although real aggression appears nowhere on this record, the underlying fear and distrust comes up in tenseness and evasion. The very strong red blotches on cards II and III are disregarded. This is the mechanism of avoidance

with regard to the more sudden social challenges, which find her unprepared. In these cards her animals become "performers in a circus." Like these animals, Barbara is well trained, well mannered, and well protected, and she likes it. She seems to be slowly growing into the adult world, which, of course, she cannot understand, and which for that reason scares her. But she has enough trust to avoid friction, to postpone clarification, to rely on fantasy activities for more immediate satisfaction. And she has just started to develop the social tact which will help her to understand the world around her with more emotional participation than she can afford at the present time.

GRAPHOLOGY

Barbara uses print-writing and regular writing alternately. She evidently has a capacity for meeting problems in more than one manner. This is confirmed by the thready performance of her "m's" and "n's," which indicates an unusual skill in dealing with matters and avoiding conflict. But it also indicates a habit of eschewing issues, arguments, and definite attitudes. Barbara has reached a remarkable sovereignty over her environment for her age. She has too little trust in her own strength to risk fights, but, intelligent and almost shrewd, she has found her own means of impressing others and of mastering situations. Her fine, irregular writing shows great sensitivity; but the letters of the individual words do not show the refined subtlety of understanding which should be the mature outcome of her impressionability. On the contrary, they have a tendency to increase in size, which reflects the self-absorption and naivete so frequently found in young people. Barbara's sensitivity is used in the service of self-protection. She is anxious and somewhat suspicious, and desperately seeking self-assurance.

Widely open "a" and "o" forms contradict the flexible over-fluidity of the threadlike connections. Barbara, who can so shrewdly handle people, is at times very outspoken and tactless. This, in combination especially with open, but coquettishly curled-in lower loops, reveals a strong desire for sexual display, strong interest in furtive means to please. Barbara, although definitely feminine in her behavior, displays shyness in expression, and a more general unwillingness for deep attachments leads her to use print in more official and also in more frightening situations. Barbara has reached a social facility of avoidance of friction by avoidance of depth, which seems very close to what is called adjustment. It is very likely that, having such excellent mastery of external behavior, she will be able to handle her future without great difficulties. Basic fears, sexual uncertainty, and some compulsive needs for appearance are well controlled by socially well-accepted means. If this girl lived under the temptations of the girls of her age group on lower cultural levels, she might be in danger of using her overflexibility and self-protective needs in a psychopathic manner.

HUMAN FIGURE DRAWING

Although there is abundant evidence that Barbara was not a composed, happy, or well-adjusted girl at the time the drawings were taken, the conflicts, disturbance, and confusions which beset her puberal phase are fairly illustrative of her

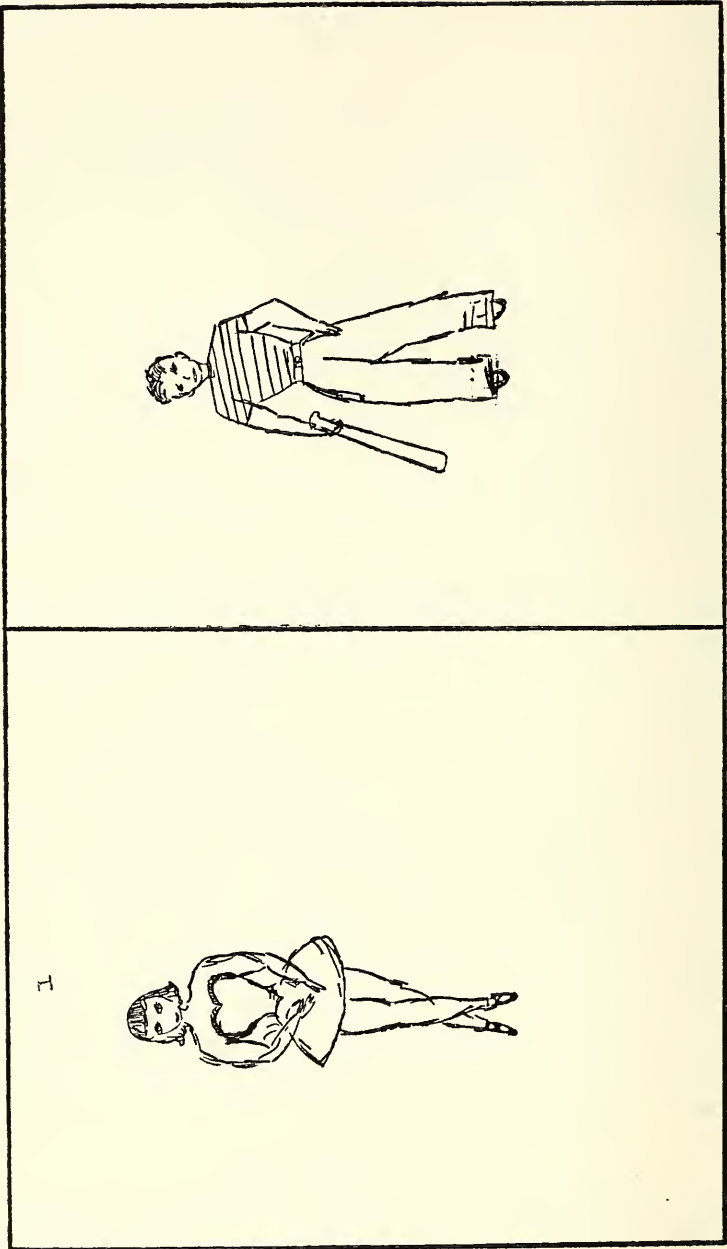


PLATE XIV—Human Figure Drawings by Barbara (puberal).

school group. A relatively sheltered home which sets high standards of adult dominance and success without too specific guidance in technique and goals, will often create a challenge which temporarily delays maturity. Unlike the girl maturing in a setting of economic stress and cultural restrictions, Barbara, along with many girls of her group, equates growing up with release from the restraints and regulations which have burdened her childhood. Whereas her poorer sister must make up her mind about work, a career, or even marriage soon after the chapter of her childhood is closed, Barbara's emancipation from childhood is seen in terms of freedom rather than responsibility. Not only are the adult models more challenging, but her childhood has been too comfortable to leave. Growing up is thus met with ambivalent feelings. Furthermore, she is not rushed by her environment. She may fret about the limitations of her childhood and dawdle about plans for adulthood for a much longer period than the girl whose environment forces immediate solutions. The poorer girl neither has challenging parent models, nor is she apt to be so specifically afflicted by sibling rivalry in a large family. The more privileged girl, of which Barbara is an excellent example, is thus plagued by a more disturbed puberty, since the opportunities for variety and level of self expression are much greater, while the conventions and cultural restrictions are geared to less free and varied forms of adult adjustments. Projected upon this larger social canvas, Barbara's growth difficulties are not excessive or unusual.

Sexual identifications are wavering while she is making up her mind in regard to her future. Barbara readily entertains the thought of being like a boy, since conventions permit a coordination of ego-fulfillment and sexual role for the male without contradictions that are imposed upon the female. Thus, Barbara gives her age to the boy that she drew, and in her description of his character, she weaves all of her dreams and ambitions as they refer to the side of her that responds to needs for intellectual achievement, for a stable and secure future, for happiness and satisfaction, for social acceptance and popularity, freedom of body expression, and no restraint in companionship with the opposite sex. The verbal model that she constructs about the male figure is that of a fairly perfect character, and she admits that she would like to be like him a little bit. Barbara's lack of confidence in her own potentialities for achievement and perfection, her feeling that perhaps if she were a boy, less would be expected of her and she would be more acceptable to her father, are factors that agitate her puberal wavering in regard to sexual role. Being the second daughter, she may have been regarded as second best to a boy by her father. Furthermore, the presence of a more self-assured and mature sister setting a female model in the home has promoted rivalry, challenge, and tension in this oversensitive, self-absorbed girl.

The female figure is given the age of the older sister and many of Barbara's own traits are assigned to her in the description of her character. She is, however, only given Barbara's negative traits, such as anxiety about her college plans, daydreaming, difficulty with her neck, indifference at school, and going out mostly with girls. The positive traits, such as her ambition to become a ballet dancer, being very happy and doing what she wants, going out frequently with boys, and enjoying social popularity, are not checked by Barbara for herself,

but represent fulfillments with which she associates her sister more than herself. She does wish to be like this character "a little bit." In the character descriptions, the male is given more consistent positive character traits. While the female is given a future of exhibitionistic display, the male is more securely anchored to a solid future. The daydreaming theme of becoming a dancer is more like the heightened narcissism seen in the younger girl of her socio-economic group and has lingered on in Barbara through pubescence, when somewhat more realism is expected. The realism is given the male.

Despite the fact that the male is described as four years younger than the female, he is almost as large as she is. Both figures are self-absorbed and sad to the point of distress. There is a distribution of self-traits graphically, showing a weak differentiation of sexual characteristics. Both male and female are given lashes, sensual mouths, small waistlines, and extended hips. The female is given broader shoulders than the male and more attention to muscular arms and legs are given the female, although the male is described as playing football. He appears generally weaker physically. It is upon the male that Barbara projects her uncertainty about growing up. She erases the length of his legs and makes them longer. The stance of the male is wider and corresponds to the greater self-assertion and athletic activity of the male described in her characterizations, but this stance is belied by lack of conviction about the energetic qualities of the figure. He looks as if he is rather to be pitied and as if he were not strong enough to wield the bat he is holding aimlessly. The stronger female, the considerable breast and hip emphasis, and buckle interest, suggest a dominant mother in the home with whom Barbara identifies.

Excessive erasures in the dream ballet model, the enormous amount of fragmentation and tension in the lines of both figures, the precarious stance of the female, the pathetic and the self-absorbed expression, all indicate restlessness, tension, insecurity of footing, depressive self-appraisal, and discouragement. The need for self-display is seen in the exposure of the female, the theme of dancing, and the front perspective of the drawings. In contrast, we find the male dressed to the neck, giving evidence of the usual overmodesty seen as reaction formation to display needs. The tight and crossed stance is also interpreted to mean withdrawal from sexual contact, combined with a furtive wish for it. We find reinforcement in the crotch of both figures, rather deliberate hair emphasis and delineation of sexual characteristics, speaking for heightened sexual interests. However, these impulses are carefully restrained with reinforcement of line, tightened waistline, encased hair, crossed legs, and reinforced neck in the male figure. It is of further interest that Barbara shows conflict with the nose treatment, which is more commonly found with boys as a symbol of castration. She erases the boy's nose and omits the nose of the female entirely. The freezing of the hands of both figures at the sexual area, the pockets in the trousers of the male, and the inclusion of a bat are all highly suggestive of some masturbatory activity about which Barbara feels guilty and to which the castration fears may be referred. Masturbation indicators are more common to the puberal than the prepuberal or adolescent girls of our study.

The arms of the female are long and ambitious, and the fingers pointed with some accent of aggression. The ballet theme is a rather esthetic and aristocratic

rationalization of Barbara's need for exhibitionism, perfection, control, and adulation. Complicating these glamour and dependency needs, is pressure toward academic professional achievement. Barbara is thus quite conflicted, feels awkward, inadequate, unpopular, and confused about her future goals. Her transition into adulthood will probably be prolonged because of the problems discussed at the outset, but the drive, good intelligence, social needs, and coordination with her cultural environment will see her through the woods.

HORN-HELLERSBERG TEST

Barbara's drawings show a variety of objects, water bodies, cars, tugboats, whales, houses, mother and child. But after studying the forms and motion one feels she is interested merely in one theme, namely to understand the physiological tensions which she keenly experiences. Most of the pictures are projections of a sex symbolism which hardly can be overlooked, but these presentations may be completely unconscious to her. She embodies nature, traffic events and other scenery with such symbolism. Though such projections are a common occurrence on this developmental level, two features are immediately striking: (a) the way she tries to rationalize such images (six times she uses maplike top views) and (b) the relative absence of human elements. Twice she draws a house designed to be used for many people but no people are around (see picture 1). Beside "An old boarding house and garden" one sees a lonely bench. The door of the boarding house is firmly closed, showing a little dot marking the door knob. Another house is a very conventional view but it has a double door with two knobs, a double safety device, unique for her. This need for security becomes still more obvious as a large road leads toward the boarding house. The road is broader than the door, an image frequently used by puberal and pre-adolescent girls. It means a dread of intrusion symbolized by making the door smaller than the road, another reason for keeping the door locked. The road does not lead into the house horizontally.

The avoidance of human elements also becomes noticeable in picture 2, "Before the Performance." She comments, "A Stage with a Group of Scenery, not yet Set." Finally, the only real human presentation which appears in her test is a mother and child here reproduced in picture 3. It is a conventional association often produced in this particular square. She draws it with an unusual intensity of feeling, with both figures close together. She writes on top of the picture, "A woman kneeling, holding a child," and underneath the title, "Sacrifice." This latter title is a surprising comment. Barbara seems to associate a giving up of the child. One may wonder why. The mother appears to be young and the baby a very small infant. Is it illegitimate? Who demands such sacrifice? Does the affectionate gesture of the mother reveal a conflict with the social order, or does Barbara picture her own separation from her mother as a sacrifice in order to mature? Such conflict would make the onslaught of inner images indicating a search for the meaning of womanhood and sex relations very consistent. It seems that the questions about her physical maturing are the most acute. This is particularly shown by the water picture (No. 4), "A Whale in a Small Inlet." Various vehicles appear in the channel; a boat is tied to a pier, but a huge

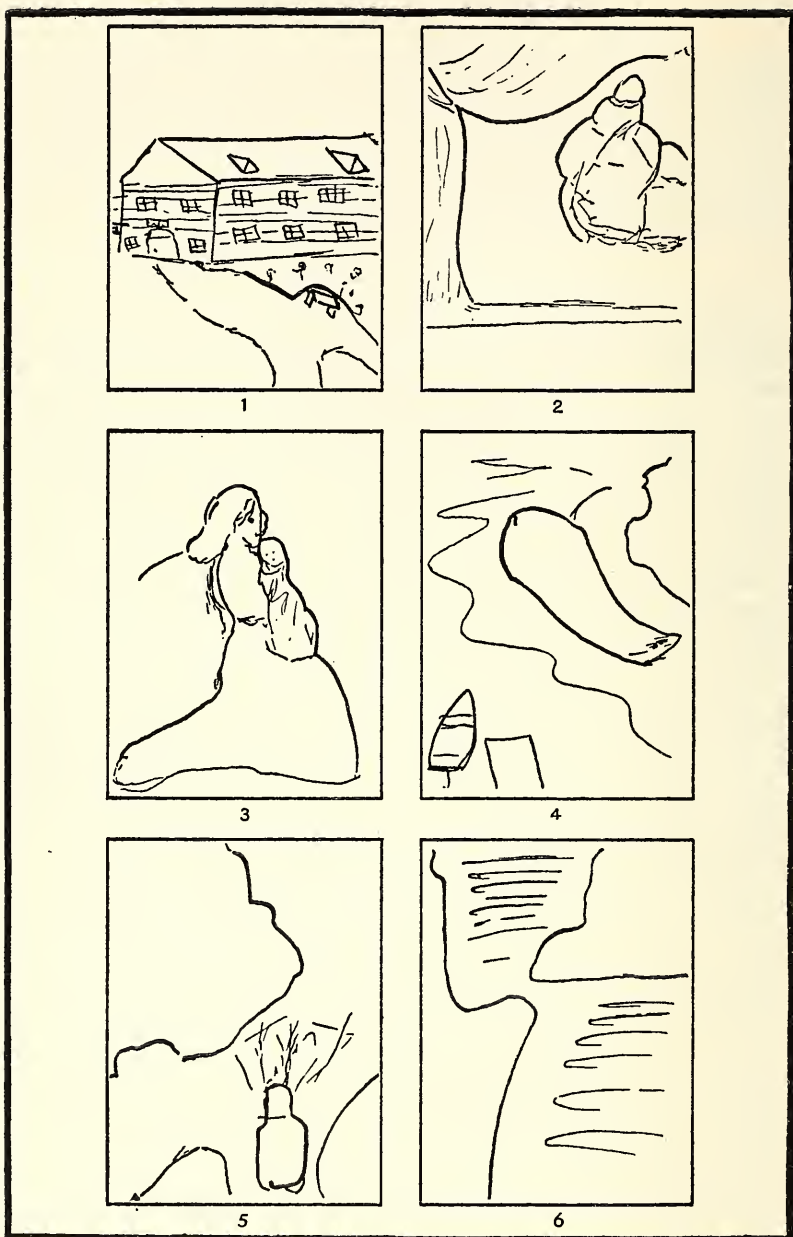


PLATE XV—Horn-Hellersberg Test pictures drawn by Barbara (puberal).

1. The old boarding house & garden.
2. Before the performance.
3. Sacrifice.
4. A whale in a small inlet.
5. Trucking at night.
6. Peace and Planeness.

whale is moving upward "in a small inlet." She corrects the title to "inlay." The whale's nose is the phallic point of square (F). She accepts this suggestion with amazing frankness. After this she draws "Trucking at night" (see picture 5), again a picture seen from the top. The truck with the light rays in front moves upward. Another picture, "Barge offshore" (not reproduced here), shows a similar motion. Another picture is called "Two pieces of land with water in between." At one point the pieces of land narrow to a very small neck. (Virginal entrance of vagina?) Three times she makes the mistake of writing "peace" instead of piece. This is not by chance, as she wishes "peace." In this picture no traffic or whale is going through the channel. In her comment she says again, "Peace and Planeness—imagination." (The picture is reproduced here as No. 6.) In this last writing of "Peace" she tries to correct the "a," making a sort of dot on top. Finally she shows that there is a conflict about the proper spelling of "Piece"—peace. The meaning of this picture seems to be a quest for a breathing spell in front of the turmoil created by the realization that a woman may be a receptacle for male intrusion. Her projective language in her drawings is truly puberal and we may grant her that the capacity for such expressive imagery must be a positive sign as far as her future development is concerned. The imagery shows much capacity for being receptive toward her inner urges and her unconscious curiosity. At the same time she shows ability to formulate these urges in a lively symbolic language which seems to indicate a definite female conflict around the meaning of "entrance."

We assume a favorable development for her in spite of her most ambivalent expression about motherhood. Her comments to the picture "Sacrifice" is, "I have seen it in a book." This picture must have struck a sympathetic chord, as she is so anxious to find the meaning of what sex offers her but she is not yet able to realize in what proportion these inner urges may be related to social demands and rules. The prediction of the positive feminine development is supported by prevalent tenderness which she uses in her stroke, a sensitivity which has various grades and modulations. Some pre-adolescent trends are also indicated in her strivings. Twice she introduces the far horizon. In the last picture a horizon stretches from one side to the other of the frame. No more hills are in the way. It is a great extension of water, the horizon relatively high, the water with quivering waves. A huge sun is just rising from the horizon showing one-third of its disk, the sun probably still the remnant of her prepuberal experience.

The expectation of this girl is a new rising sun. It is morning. It may be another male symbol than that of her father. She names the picture "Morning Glory." This is a flower's name and is a hint that this male may be a greater and positive expectation. This indicates some strength if one realizes how vivid her physical anxiety still is.

From the former description one may infer what Barbara's relation to outer reality is. In her comments she refers to most of the pictures as "Imagination," or "I saw that in books." Twice she refers to her drawings as "I saw such buildings," "Things I have seen." The latter is said of the sunrise. Her objective reality as far as real experiences are concerned is low enough (20 per cent) to indicate that concentration on school work is not easy for her. The demands of her

instinctual life are too great. It is a positive sign that she is able to accept these inner demands and deal with them in a symbolic language. The six maplike presentations show the enormous effort of keeping unconscious contents under rational control. This trend of hers explains why her Chart A shows a clustering in the repressive zone (15 per cent of all pictures). This must not be counted as a symptom of neurotic mechanism, but rather as a symptom of ego strength. The health and normalcy of Barbara lies, as far as the HH Test is concerned, in the attempt to keep a balance between inner and outer realities. She tries not to be crushed by the amount of inner images which soon will show her the whole world in a new perspective. Indeed, this lively girl feels frightened, and "Sacrifice" may finally mean the sacrifice of her own childhood security, facing a womanhood which is still uncertain and a complete enigma to her.

H A R R I E T

Puberal

SUMMARY

Harriet has superior intelligence (G, R) and a great deal of originality (R), but her intellectual functioning is not smooth (R, TAT); there are breaks in logic (R, TAT) and it is greatly lowered by the presence of severe shocks (R). There is lack of criticism and discrimination (R), and her capacity for organization is unsure (HH). She seems to be quite ambitious (R), but the need to make something of herself appears to result from environmental pressure (FD). Although her ambitions are mostly gratified (R), there is mental strain as she attempts to cope with the demands made on her (HH). She is not so interested in academic achievement that she would not like to reduce this external pressure for achievement and her own aspiration level (FD).

Harriet shows severe anxiety (R, FD, TAT, G, HH) and is quite insecure (FD). She is tense (FD) and moody (FD, G); there are depressive trends (TAT, G, HH) with possible sporadic suicidal ideas (G). Escape into fantasy seems to be her defense against them (G). She is quite egocentric (FD) and narcissistic (TAT), and regression to childish orality probably provides some much needed relaxation (R). There is a strong need for self-expression (R, FD), and yet there is too much constriction (R, FD) for it to have a ready outlet. Emotional outbursts, of both the aggressive (G, FD) and hysterical display types are probable (G). Her cautiousness (R), good intelligence (R, HH) and strong superego serve as controls (R), and there may also be some compulsive mechanisms (R), but on the whole these controls are rather brittle and inadequate (FD, G, R).

Harriet is overwhelmed by the environment and feels powerless and confused (R, HH). Her relations to others are strained (R), and her social contacts are awkward and unpleasant (HH) as she tries to please people without understanding their needs (R). Negativism (R), assertion and self display conceal much uncertainty (G), as does her forced sophistication (HH, R, G) and affectation (TAT). There is much hostility (HH) and defensive aggression (R, G) about which she feels guilty (FD). Her contempt for her surroundings (HH) may also be a defensive reaction. Reality contacts are few (G, HH) and her introversion (TAT, G) and fantasy living (G) are an attempt to escape reality (G).

Harriet seems to be in a state of physical turmoil (HH) with marked body concentration and dissatisfaction (FD). Self-conscious and sexually uncertain, she also has feelings of ill health (FD). Her psychosexual development is advanced (TAT) and she is much preoccupied with daydreams of love and marriage (FD, TAT). Her behavior is provocative, and she uses her sexuality in an aggressive way (FD), partially to conceal her uncertainty. There is a good deal of sexual curiosity which has probably spilled over into exploration and

sexual play (FD). She is confused and guilty about masturbation (FD) and there may have been some childhood sexual trauma (TAT).

Her home environment seems somewhat unstable (FD) with possible friction between the father and mother (TAT). She seems to have encountered affectional deprivation and frustration (R, FD). She is quite hostile and rebellious toward her family (FD), and there is rivalry with a sister who is perhaps better accepted (FD). Her hostility and rebellion result in guilt (FD) and fear (HH). She seems to be resisting a domineering mother (FD) and to live in awe and fear of her father (R). Nevertheless, there appears to be a close attachment to him and a struggle for his acceptance (FD).

Harriet is restless and dissatisfied, and impatient to grow up (FD). She resists her dependency (FD), and there is protest and defiance (HH) as she attempts to overcome obstacles (R) in her striving for independence (R, FD).

Harriet is a very disturbed girl (FD, TAT). Among the many danger spots are schizoid trends and paranoid features (HH). Guidance is needed (HH, FD).

THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

The stories are unusual to the point of being odd. They are sometimes incoherent and show breaks in logic. Output is irregular; some are quite long and others two or three lines. There is a disconnective quality about them; intellectual functioning is not smooth. The narrative style is affected and pseudo-literary with much retroaction, involution, and unnecessary complication (a kind of wheels-within-wheels effect). These characteristics merely parallel and reflect the turmoil and complications of Harriet's inner life. Despite the literary pretentiousness, misspellings are frequent and the literary level is not high.

Psychosexual development is advanced for a girl of her age, subjectively if not overtly. She daydreams about love and marriage to such an extent that these topics have become an obsession. The love affairs in her stories are often thwarted. Girls are left waiting empty-handed by absentee lovers and fiancés. Examples are (3) where the village schoolmaster promises to return and marry the heroine but disappoints her, and (11) where the prospective bridegroom dies before he can marry his sweetheart. If Harriet has had any experience with boys, these experiences have been frustrating; more likely she simply dreams of things to come, and the frustration effects come from other areas of her life. Her autistic activity serves the usual function of escape from an unsatisfying daily existence into a dream world of love, glamour, and excitement.

One story could bear further investigation. In (5), the caress picture, the girl says to the man, "I love you darling," and he responds, "My darling sister, I know you have suffered." This is the entire interpretation, and the latter part is crossed out. Since Harriet in real life has only an older sister, the fictional brother may be a symbol of someone else, although who this may be is not clear. Another tale involves a girl who is abandoned by her husband when he learns about something (which is left to the imagination of the reader) that happened to her when she was young (7). The question of childhood sex trauma may be raised. Or is the "trauma" with its overtones of guilt simply

the product of fantasy while at the same time reflecting erotic preoccupations and consequent feelings of guilt?

Family relations go practically untreated, suggesting that she is not too concerned with her parents or at least is not very close to them. Or it may mean that these relationships are so upsetting that she avoids mention of them. There is one unique story, however, which has to do with parents who hate each other (4). Their small son finds them both dead, the result of a double murder and suicide by the father. This story may be the product of parental clashes at home, or it may express deep hostility toward her mother and father.

Harriet is clearly quite disturbed. She shows anxiety and a precocious concern with heterosexual topics, is withdrawn with too little companionship with age peers. Harriet is intensely narcissistic and egocentric. This is illustrated by literary posturing and constant striving for effect in her story-telling. Although not all her endings are unhappy, some being plot resolutions of the happy unrealistic type, depressive trends are fairly clear. Typical is the forlorn response to (6): "This poor polish person is suffering, suffering this man, and so is this polish child." Morbid themes like death and frustration occur too often. Harriet's problems, in brief, are partly characterological and are more serious than the usual developmental problems of her age group.

RORSCHACH TEST

In view of Harriet's superior intelligence and originality, 18 Rorschach responses are too few. Her spontaneity and natural desire for self-expression are evidently coerced. She must have difficulty in her relationship to her environment, which is more specifically indicated by the complete omission of Fc and c responses, which are reactions to the surface shading of the blots. This type of shading response, when combined with adequate form perceptions, indicates an ability for subtle adjustment and the presence of discriminative feelings, which in some puberal girls are already well developed. It seems that such feelings are the socialized derivatives of anxiety experiences.

The social tact, which shading responses are generally known to express, is thus revealed to be dynamically traceable to fear of being hurt, which subsequently induces fear of hurting others. This is one of the contributions the Rorschach technique could make to general psychological insight. However, in Harriet's record, which manifests many signs of anxiety, this social refinement has not taken place. Reactions to shading which suggest depth and distance do occur, however. For instance, she calls an area "smoke" or "fire" and combines it with the inanimate movement (m) inherent in the rising and blazing of smoke and fire. Inanimate movement reactions are the expression of a specific type of anxiety which is connected with the feeling of being exposed to unfortunate, frustrating experiences.

Color has the same disturbing effect on this girl. The first fully colored card (VIII) creates quite a "color shock." Meeting this new stimulus throws her into inadequacy feelings; her first response is "bugs, trying to climb a grey wall"; her second response, "or else a fire is starting." If she had a tendency toward

childish outbursts when confronted with new and strong impressions, fire would have been her first reaction; but on the contrary, her first interpretation is "tiny bugs" to an area where tigers and leopards are by far more usual. The girl is quite overwhelmed by her environment and, feeling powerless and confused, only gradually forms aggressive and destructive emotional reactions. However, at present, defensive aggression has become a frequent and almost habitual attitude.

Her very first response to the test is given to the plate in upside-down position, which implies that Harriet either used her blank instead of using the screen projection, or, if she did use the screen picture, imagined it to be reversed. The slide was not projected in reverse position. Such an initial response to a new problem indicates considerable negativism. We see forced sophistication which cannot possibly be a relaxed and spontaneous reaction, because it lacks natural simplicity. The first response itself is remote architecture (a Chinese temple), a mere form response. Having overcome initial inhibitions she continues, "looks like smoke is rising." Her anxiety breaks through the intellectualizing controls.

Offering alternatives rather than additive responses is characteristic of Harriet. It serves several purposes: offering two solutions creates in her a feeling of superior achievement; besides, it indicates her need for cautious control. Card II shows people "talking—or they are playing a happy game." Again "talking," the more mature version, was given first. In card III "people are dancing or beating a drum." In both instances "strange things hanging down" again add to the interpretation the undertone of an indefinite, slightly disquieting inanimate movement. On card IV her somewhat compulsive need for duplicity of solutions is overridden by anxiety. A "monster, hunchbacked, gave me a weird thought." This is the only masculine figure in the test. The concept of a kingly throne on card VI adds to the feeling that her father-relation is one of awe or fear rather than one of confidence, and must have increased the girl's strain in relationships.

Her superego puts strong demands on her with the result of great intellectualization. Fifty-six per cent *W*-responses (in which the blot is interpreted as a whole) suggests very great ambition, which is mostly gratified. Only in the face of severe shock such as the color on card VIII does her achievement level suddenly drop; "bugs" are not a very adequate interpretation. Otherwise, whenever the form of an area is used, it is used rather precisely. Her human movement responses are the most elaborate and the most original. This is usual, but especially true for adolescents whose fantasies and wishful dreams obtain their best energies, their most personal attention, and individual treatment. Particularly in this middle group of puberals, with so much vigor absorbed by physical problems, the difference in form level between human movement responses and all others is often striking.

Harriet has one rather unusual and very well seen *M*-response (human movement) which is on card IX—"Two girls, drinking water from a fountain." The cheerful receptivity of this movement shows the same spirit as her "girls sticking the tongue out at each other" on card VII. Harriet is at her best when she can be childish and oral. Here she finds relaxation from the strain of living among people whom she wants to please without understanding their needs.

This strain is documented in Harriet's responses to color. With very few exceptions, like the "fire" response on card VIII, which rarely provokes such overstrong emotionality, Harriet shows extremely overadjusted, superficially well controlled reactions to the world of adults around her. She accepts the color values of the Rorschach card with an uncritical but also uninterested attitude.

"Two orange dragons standing on green pigs," the unrealistic disproportion of this combination does not challenge her judgment; the colors neither contribute to these judgments nor discourage them. The fact that these responses are actually meant to be color responses, with color not only used as location-indicator, is evidenced in various places. Such superficial, meaningless lip-service to color values indicates a dangerous capacity for acceptance of non-cogent phenomena, of the lack of criticism, of aloofness. Only someone who is not obedient to logic can surrender to chance coincidence as if it were intrinsic and essential. This seems to be a rather inconspicuous lapse in discrimination but it occurs in the process of thinking rather than emotion and, therefore, carries greater weight. In this type of framework, emotional revolt and uproar are disturbing. In two places, where animals "are trying to climb up walls"—a "pink wall" and one "grey wall," the desperate counteraction to the force of gravitation expressed in this concept conflicts with reason as well.

The last response of this record, "the Liberty Bell," seems to ring out the period of irresponsible childhood. It expresses her egopetal strivings for independence and the desire to overcome obstacles at all costs so characteristic of the puberal group.

GRAPHOLOGY

The first and most striking impression of this writing is the unusual height of the writer's capitals and the relative inconspicuousness of her small letters. This shows a mind that lives in unrealistic imagination and dreamlike aspirations while discontented with reality. This kind of discrepancy can sometimes be overcome by personalities which are quite outstanding. There are writers and youthful poets whose introversion is so resourceful that they can turn their daydreams into art. It is probable that Harriet has such aspirations.

Her intelligence, is, indeed, superior. Some of her letters show amazingly personal, experienced forms; forms, that is, which have trends toward sophistication and intellectual deftness far beyond her emotional maturity. Her capacity for organization, however, which can be seen in the distribution of words in space, is insecure. Generally, especially in the beginning, she maintains enough mental discipline to keep her long, high letters unentangled. Later on, as she becomes emotionally more involved, they run together. They also become smaller as time goes by. It is striking that her initial self-display shrinks quite markedly as soon as she starts the second page. From this alone it becomes evident that her self-certainty is very moderate, while her gestures are those of assertion. She is aware of this contrast and probably fills the gap by desperate make-believe conduct.

Slurring movements in the center zone manifest the writer's efforts toward concealment; it does not show deftness of movement, though, so that we are not dealing with a psychopath. The concealment evidently refers to Harriet's

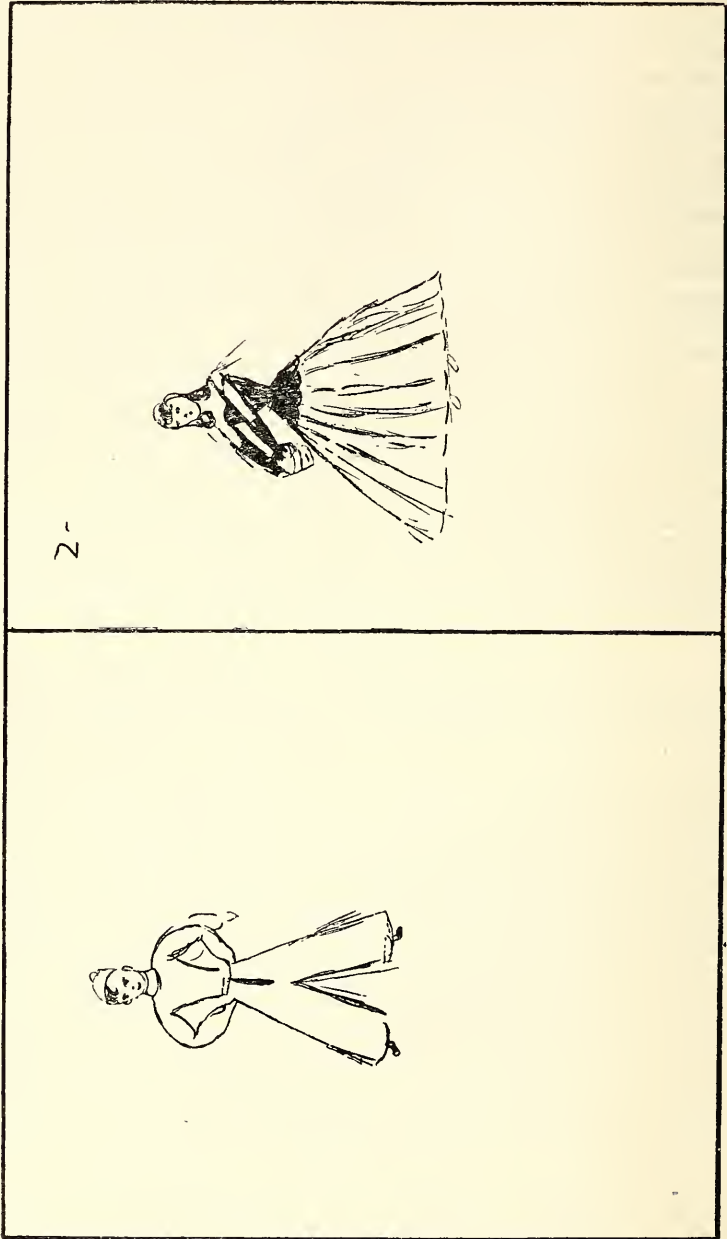


PLATE XVI—Human Figure Drawings by Harriet (puberal).

personal fantasy experiences which she hides behind boastful talk. Thus she lives on two levels and both are unrealistic; one is her dreamland, the other her outward or social pretense. But her reality contacts are few, and she has not found footing anywhere. The lower loops of her writing are very short and lifeless. Some of them are so dejectedly drooping that suicidal ideas might be assumed to occur sporadically. On the other hand, a certain flexibility of stroke manifests more capacity for adjustment than is likely to be thrown overboard, so that she does not have to be considered in an acute suicidal danger. Yet, her anxiety creates frequent, depressive moods. It is probably just her romanticism which enables her to overcome these moods by emotional manipulations, so that fantasy absorbs her self-destructive trends. At the bottom of almost every page, her written lines climb uphill in overcompensation to her downward tendencies, as well as in an effort to run away from reality. Sudden changes in mood must be expected, and they are probably frequent in this girl. They are accompanied by very strong and openly released little acts of aggression, which appear in the little hooks and needlepoints of the writing. They appear more often where the writing is wider; thus, fits of hysterical, uncontrolled outbursts can be assumed to occur, in which all her pent-up aggression is released. The sudden emerging of words which are printed for the sake of emphasis adds to the impression of hysterical display.

HUMAN FIGURE DRAWING

Harriet distinguishes herself as an especially disturbed puberal and not on the basis of the unusual nature of her problems, but rather on the excessive and concentrated degree to which expression is made manifest. The marked body concentration, the impatience to grow up, the vigorous resentment against dependency ties, and the effort to reduce external pressures for achievement which Harriet expresses in her drawing projections are rather typical characteristics of the puberal crisis. Intense massing of these conflicts with especially violent reaction to them dictates the need for particular help and guidance if Harriet is to weather this crisis without serious permanent damage to her personality and adjustment. Although Harriet has always been extremely intense, egocentric, vivid, and dominating, it is felt that rivalry with a more grown-up and perhaps better accepted sister of 16, the struggle for acceptance by the father toward whom there is obviously close attachment, and increasing resistance to a domineering mother have all contributed to the acute turmoil seen in this girl.

The male, whom Harriet invests with many of her wished-for traits, is drawn first. This expression of sexual uncertainty is not uncommon at puberty, but with Harriet's hunger for her father's love and her position of the second girl in the family, it takes on individual importance. Harriet does indeed make a more hopeful and pleasant character of the boy in her descriptions than of the girl she drew. She acknowledges that she would like to be like him if she were a boy, and as a girl she would like to meet a boy like that, and she concludes her description of the imaginary character with the spontaneous note, "He is very tall and strong and amounts to someone at the end." This stress upon good looks and physical strength and health reflects extreme dissatisfaction with her

body which is abundantly exhibited in Harriet's drawings, and also the feeling of ill health which her newly acquired puberal functions, her confusion, and her guilt about masturbation produce. The need to make something of oneself is an expression of the pressure that Harriet feels from her family, school, and cultural surroundings. She vainly hopes that it will all come out well in the end, being deeply aware of her difficulties.

The female figure is given the age of Harriet's sister, 16, although in the actual portrait she is as big as and more mature than the male. She is in her last term of high school, is not too smart or good looking (reiterating the feelings of inferiority that Harriet feels). The only good part of her is her skirt. It seems that Harriet relies upon clothing and appearances to cover up her feelings of defect, and also perhaps, she is gaining a covert interest in her sexual equipment as a means for popularity and social domination. She argues, is restless, smokes, bites her nails, loses her temper, and her family is nasty to her. In these traits, we find the factual and the worst of Harriet reflected. The figure is also described as unhappy, worried as to whether her boyfriend loves her, travels with older friends, does not listen to her older sister, and hates her family. People say horrid things about her. She likes nightclubs and smoking, and will marry early, at 20, to a not very nice boy. These associations are a fairly specific exposition of Harriet's problems as she knows them, and she projects them upon her sister, saving the role of the boy for herself. The female's main wishes are to be free, have a boyfriend love her and marry her, while the male's are to be a boxer, get married, and have peace in the world. The yearning for peace is great in Harriet's life.

Both graphic and verbal portraits are intense expressions of rebellion against the home, against her parents, and her sister. The life goals that Harriet sets are characterized by freedom from restraint, self-indulgence, relaxation of standards—and yet it is clear that she is not happy with her decisions. The boy could have this freedom and be a nice guy, while the girl is frowned upon and called horrid names if she steps out of line. It is no wonder that Harriet entertains the preference to be a boy. Does a prettier and better adjusted older sister add discouragement to Harriet's prospects for competing adequately as a girl? The wavering in regard to sexual role finds equivalence in other contradictions. The heavy, aggressive line, the wide assertive stance, and the effort to endow the male with muscular physical confidence are counteracted by tiny feet showing insecurity, reinforcement indicating emotional outbursts and restlessness, by considerable erasures expressing dissatisfaction, by a pensive, childish, and rather effeminate face, and a constricted size and self-conscious placement of the figure. Reinforcement of the side chest lines betrays some indirect and uncertain acceptance of breast development, a treatment that is rather prepuberal, adding evidence to Harriet's fight with femininity. The most outstanding graphic emphasis in the male figure centers around the explicit fly indication and the agitated treatment of the crotch of the trousers. Sexual curiosity that has advanced to exploration and sex play is here suggested.

In both figures we find emphasis upon the mouth to indicate that as an organ of aggression. Emphasis of nostrils gives more support to the explosive swearing and temper outbursts, along with the heavy lines, reinforcements, rebellious

stance and expression, and generally motor and acting out features in the drawings. The female is the one that in Harriet's verbal description earns all the disapprobation because of her independence. It is to be noted that all of the shading is converted into glamour effects serving to indicate a black bodice of an evening gown and long formal gloves. The gloves cover the guilt of the arms, and the bodice, the anxiety about breast development and female sexual maturity. Harriet manages to convert her anxiety into sexually provocative behavior and alluring clothes effects. Emphasis upon the relatively conspicuous evening bag is seen as evidence of affectional deprivation, which, again, is converted into glamour and affluence. The arms reach out far into the environment, and there is no indication of autistic substitutions for frustration, but rather irritable and explosive retaliation.

Harriet is moody, and self-reference and egocentricity are the central axes of her behavior and her attitudes. She is awkward and does not know what to do with her hands and feet. In the female she has the hands hold something and the feet are covered. In the male the feet are tiny and the hands return to the body in self-reference. It is to be noted that what sexual allure is attributed to the girl is lacking in softness. It is harsh and instrumental, and conceived as a weapon of domination over the male. The female is tightly corseted, in a manner of a girl restraining herself forcibly, with the face showing the explosive consequences of that restraint.

In summary, Harriet is rather a tense, irritable, restless, and demanding girl, whose controls have always been brittle. She resents school and family ties, and is jealous of her more grown-up sister. Relationship toward her father is a much more congenial one than to her dominating mother. Harriet is grown-up minded and boy-crazy in her desperate efforts to fix the sexual role, about which she is quite ambivalent. She is discouraged, moody, feels inferior, and frustrated. This culminates in frequent emotional outbursts. She is not interested in academic achievement or any future that would require effort. She is all bent for self-expression. Children do not feature in Harriet's record as they do in prepuberals. Her fantasies are directly sexual. She appears to have established her menses. Unstable home environment seems the primary source of Harriet's turbulent puberty, and general family help as well as help for Harriet individually is indicated.

HORN-HELLERSBERG TEST

On looking over Harriet's test one sees that many peculiar elements are employed, yet there is also a sophisticated attempt to gain distance from these queer ideas. Some pictures look as if she is purposely kidding and is not serious. Her notes on inquiry are most scanty, not helpful at all. In the first picture, called "Design," she plays with lines and tends to reverse single lines in mirror fashion using lines and shades. Probably she was handicapped in the beginning to put her projection in motion.

In "Girl Walking Toward a Door," (picture 1), the girl is most crude and has no real arms; there is heavy and wide shading with a screen effect over the breasts and sleeve. She wears slacks, is bald-headed, has Chinese eyes and no

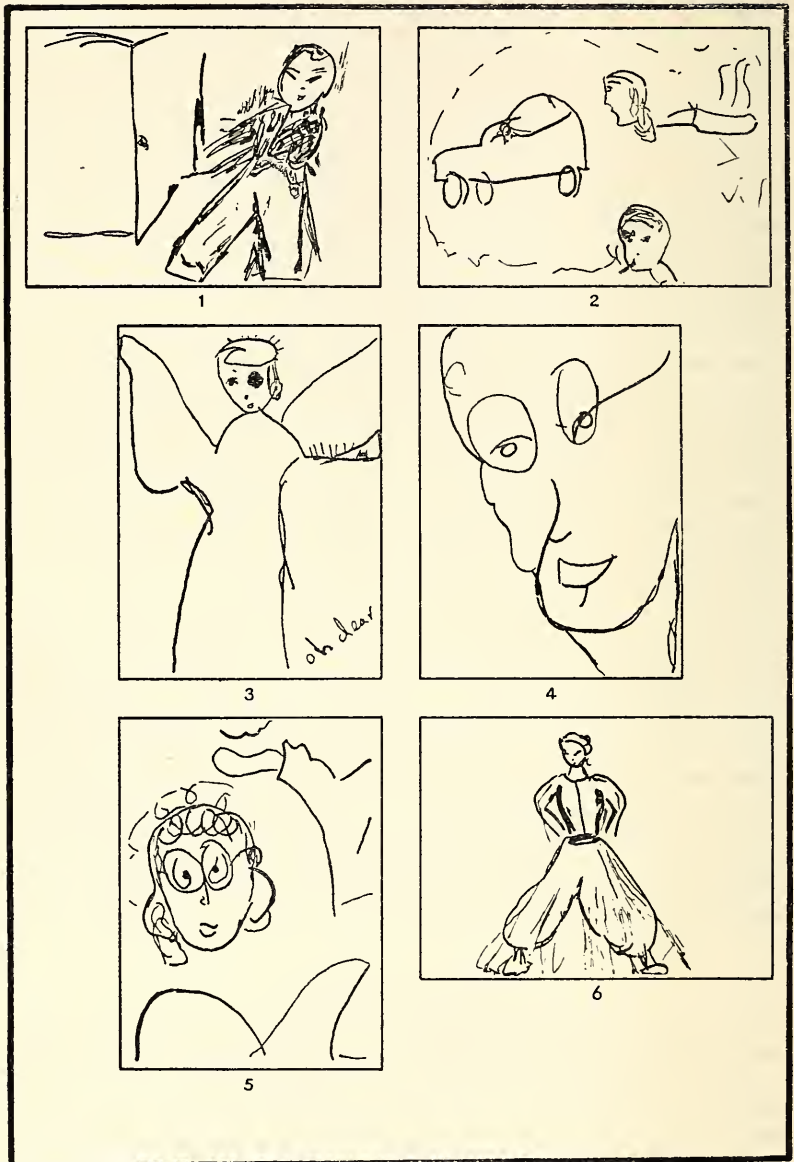


PLATE XVII—Horn-Hellersberg Test pictures drawn by Harriet (puberal).

- | | |
|------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Girl walking towards door | 2. His dream |
| 3. An angel with black eye | 4. Doctor |
| 5. Crazy girl | 6. Dutch girl |

feet, the square frame cutting them off. The picture is far removed from any typical girlish looks, yet in this picture given lines are observed and utilized. Her second drawing, "Birds and a Cloud," is a conventional presentation, and the third, "Just a Man Sittint (sic) in the Sky," depicts a man with a goatee whose arms and other parts are very unclear. With the next drawing of a horror face Harriet is in surrealistic realms. She calls the picture "Design," definitely a rationalization. The picture shows a spider web, a devious symptom of mental strain. With the next two pictures, Harriet strikes a more jocular tone. She draws "Her Dream": an ugly man's head is in a cloud, saying, "I Love You"; a sailboat is in front of him. This is an ironical picture, putting a normal sentiment at humorous distance. It is not a happy picture. In the next, "His Dream" (here reproduced as No. 2), she draws a boy's face with a big cigar in his mouth; a car stands at the left and a girl is lying prone, her head misproportioned and her legs sticking out. Each line is used for one single object, but it is given a clever solution as a whole. In the next presentation, "An Angel With a Black Eye" (see picture 3), Harriet is grotesque and ironical again. "Oh, dear!" is written in a corner. She names this picture as the most difficult one. No. 4 in our reproduction shows her next drawing, "Doctor," which Harriet states she likes best. It is again a queer composition. The curved given lines are misused. This square often suggests a face, but she makes it misshapen. The result is a spooky impression that she refers to as "Frankenstein." Two given lines do not fit at all. It seems that she looks automatically for the extravagant and unusual, but in this case it is a man of her own social class and she pulls a joke on him.

Picture 5, "Crazy Girl," was the next, obviously an association connected with the preceding doctor's face. She comments that it is "purely nuts." There is again an emphasis on eyes. Here eyeglasses make the face appear scared. She used this trick also on the "Doctor" and the black eye of the angel was already reminiscent of this theme. At the right side of the crazy girl is a tongue stretched out of an animal-shaped head and this seems to be the first direct phallic hint of which the puberal tests are otherwise so rich. The tongue is directed above the crazy girl's head. In a neat picture Harriet suddenly turns to a somewhat sentimental girl's beauty. A lot of shading is used around the hair, and much correction around the chin and cheeks. There is a sharp line over the upper part of the breasts, with much correcting. Given lines are badly integrated; three are completely ignored, two others are covered up. This pretty girl is called "Shy." This reveals directly the amount of helpless effort Harriet makes to reach out for what the other girls attempt, namely some glamorous view on femininity. After this she can only make a design, interconnecting ends of lines and forming closures. Another closure is perfectly given in the last picture, the square without given lines here reproduced as picture 6. She draws a girl, hands behind her, head thrown backward in utter protest or defiance. She has given her short breeches, Dutch pants, obviously covering up with this boyish unrealistic note her own unrealistic sentiment.

What is the reality contact of Harriet? On her Chart A, which summarizes the contents drawn, we see very little objective reality, but many heads, designs, surrealistic and morbid elements. This is a type of chart which shows many danger spots. The girl obviously does not feel happy. Her projections are strange

and show despair. There is a high percentage of overlooked lines, which indicates that she is not able to cope with the requirements that surround her. Also, the three design pictures show blocking and carry danger signs observed in more seriously disturbed people. Her protest or rebellion is frightening to her. There is little ease and no creative playfulness at her disposal.

All humans are single and, in fact, there are no real humans; only the picture, "Shy," approximates a real girl. It seems that she must have a certain awareness that her inner world and the outer demands do not go together; she seems to have made a break with humans contacting her, and now she is at a loss as to what to do with her inner tensions.

Her form of separation from normal occurrences and requirements, the fear and anxiety elements, the morbidity and distortions are schizoid trends. Remarkable also is the indirectness of her emotional expressions. Feelings are distant, either ironical or unreal "dreams," or she turns to the grotesque.

One can conclude that her social contacts must be awkward and unpleasant. She is a puzzle to herself. Linking the findings to what is "typically" puberal, we can stress that her own social contacts must have been aggravated before puberty. She takes the tension and doubts in her human relations over into the physical aspects of her development. The physical turmoil adds to her despair, brings doubt to her inner reality, but also produces contempt for what surrounds her. With that she loses all sound footing. She tries to use a sophisticated, sarcastic distance, an operation which her high intelligence permits her, but she gains only greater insecurity, spreading her inner turmoil in a destructive way in everything she does. This leads to more paranoid features, as her own fear and reaction pattern comes back to her as fear caused by the outer world and the surrounding people.

We may conclude that this test shows sufficient danger symptoms to cause one to recommend guidance and psychiatric supervision of her development. Therapy should help her to free some expression of her great hostility, so that her social relationships can be reorganized.

J U L I A

Puberal

SUMMARY

Julia has very good intelligence (G, FD, HH), and she impresses the environment with her talent and brightness (R). In spite of her insight (R) and good integrative abilities (HH), she lacks self-criticism (R), which may be partially explained by the fact that admiration is so readily forthcoming (R) from her accepting (R) and oversheltered home environment (G, FD). That she cannot keep goals in sight for a long period (G) may be related to her use of intellectuality, not as something enjoyed for its own sake but as a means of winning approval.

She is quite immature (R, FD, TAT) and childish (R, FD). There is marked family attachment (HH) and her social relations seem to be merely a continuation of the role of "good little girl." There is some lack of emotional differentiation. Julia is cooperative and friendly in a submissive, childish way (FD); neatness, obedience, and display are her methods of handling social situations (FD). The function of this behavior is to earn for herself enough reward, acceptance, and approval to make her feel secure (G). She does not seem to be self-conscious (HH). Julia's oral dependence and receptivity are quite marked (R, FD, G), and independence appears as a threat (FD). She may handle it by escaping into fantasy or become discouraged and withdraw (FD). She prefers the security of her home to freedom, so that there is great reluctance and indecision about growing up (FD).

While she appears a passive, mild (FD), and well behaved child (G), this is achieved by considerable repression (R, FD), inhibition (FD, HH), and suppression of spontaneous reactions (R). There are also intellectual (R) and obsessive controls (FD). There are occasional emotional outbursts (R, FD, G), which probably take the form of whining and crying spells (G). Julia is fearful of the consequences of any action (G), and her anxiety (FD) makes her quite cautious and fearful (G). There also seem to be considerable sadness (FD, G), feelings of disappointment (G), and depressive moods (G).

Julia has a close relationship to her mother (R, FD, TAT), on whom she is quite dependent (TAT). She seems to be afraid of losing her (TAT). Her father appears to be the dominant person in the family (HH), and Julia is ambivalent about him (R). Her relationship to him is strained and also seems to contain some guilt feelings (FD). Julia seems to take a feminine attitude (TAT), and to attempt to duplicate her mother in her procreative and nutritive functions (TAT, FD). One function of this role is to obtain for herself the love and support of the environment (FD), but it also suggests an unresolved Oedipal situation, in which she assumes her mother's role for the purpose of replacing her (FD, TAT) in her father's affections. This seems consistent with her sexual

attachment to the primary love objects (mother and father) (FD, G), and her less than normal concern with the opposite sex (TAT). (FD) adds that her concept of men is immature and bound to her father. Further, she expects sexual frustration (R), which might well arise from the unresolved father attachment.

There is acute preoccupation with procreation (R, FD), yet a denial of body sexual characteristics (FD). There is suppressed sexual curiosity (HH), apparently of a voyeuristic nature (FD). She is disturbed by masculinity (R), and there is an unconscious wrestling with the male problem (HH). On a more overt level, there is fear and avoidance of sexual problems (R).

Julia wants to prolong the security of home and avoid the disturbing problems of the outside world (R). She probably clings closer to the home environment as an escape from growing up (HH). She finds puberty threatening and attempts to evade it; she is reluctant to grow into a woman (FD). She may equate adulthood with more restraints and inhibitions (FD). She seems to be quite fantasy absorbed, using it as an escape (FD, G, HH). There are indications of passive protest (G), but her assertion seems to be in the realm of fantasy (FD, R).

THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

Julia's preoccupation is her mother. Mothers and their activities are almost the only narrative theme. Of nine stories only two do not center about the home. The little girl in (1) loves to play with doll babies even though she is ten years old, and for this reason other children ridicule her. She goes home to mother, who is very understanding and explains that she is too old for dolls, so the child gives them up. Warm maternal feelings are expressed in (6); a woman shows strong affection for her baby and assures him that some day he will become great. He fulfills this prophecy by becoming the champion runner of his school. The childishness of this response merely confirms the impression of immaturity gained from the doll story. In (7) a son is seriously ill and the parents are distressed. The husband is consoling his wife when the doctor comes out of the sick room and announces that the boy will live. The maternal motif is repeated with variations in (8) with an interpretation which is far removed from the apparent scene of the picture. A mother, hysterical over the injury suffered by her son in an explosion, demands that the clinic doctors allow her to see him; the story ends with the request being granted.

Not only is Julia deeply dependent on her mother, but she is afraid of losing her. Maternal characters are several times pictured as sick or dying. The small boy in (4) cries over his mother's illness. Neither his father nor his friends can distract him until his mother returns from the hospital—with a baby sister. In (5) a frail wisp of a woman, lying on her death-bed, calls for her twin son and daughter. And in (9), after her mother's death, the heroine tries valiantly to take her place. She is preparing supper for her brother when her father comes home with a strange woman and announces her as the new stepmother. The father in these stories is definitely in the background but, except when he dares to take a new wife, is favorably drawn. The frequent occurrence of mother-son

relations is not clear; it can scarcely mean sibling rivalry with a brother because Julia has none. She has only a sister who is much older. The "brother" may even be Julia, since the crossing of sex lines in thematic projection is not unusual.

The close maternal attachment is the central explanation for the characteristics that Julia reveals in these fantasies. She identifies with maternal roles and, because of close affiliation with her own mother, shows considerable development of motherly sentiments. The clinging to mother and childhood unfortunately may be hindering emotional growth processes for, although she is beyond puberty, no interest is shown in boys. Not one of the stories deals with boys or men as such, and the caress aspect of picture (5) is carefully ignored. Julia is undeveloped psychosexually for her age. The doll story, which may well contain autobiographical elements, offers further evidence of immaturity.

Julia makes her feminine characters soft and sentimental or maternal and emotional, and there is reason to believe that she herself is of markedly feminine disposition. She seems to be developing into the stereotype of the old-fashioned passive, submissive woman. Her women characters do not strive to make their mark in the world. The only story which touches at all on the achievement theme is (3) in which the heroine loses jobs because she lacks patience. After long deliberation she finally decides to become a model because she is capable of sitting in one position for a long time.

Momentarily and on the surface Julia appears stable, although the rejection of the last three pictures awakens some suspicion. Her stories have a pleasant, healthy tone; dysphoric trends are negligible; and the only anxiety is over the possible loss of maternal figures. Family relations are firm despite the probability of some maternal over-protection. Regarding the last point, it must be remembered that Julia is one of the youngest puberal girls in the group. With time the umbilical cord may be cut.

RORSCHACH TEST

Julia attempts to cope with her private difficulties by impressing her environment as a talented, very bright child who will overcome her peculiarities. These peculiarities are non-aggressive and more of a fantasy type, with great constraint of sudden motor outbursts. However, the material for outbursts is present and her state of balance seems not too well-founded. Control factors are mainly intellectual, as far as they are constructive. The remaining discipline in thought and action is played by repression.

The Rorschach is very productive. Julia gave 48 responses, which is a high number within her group. However, 50 per cent of them are mere form percepts. This is not because of rigidity or lack of affect, but because of her tendency to express ideas easily, the irrelevance of which makes them unattractive for further elaboration. Obviously, Julia is used to earning admiration for easy production, regardless of its value. Thus her efforts are directed toward quantity, while her drive for integrative mental activity is relatively low (W per cent, 19). The lack of self-criticism in this highly superior girl is surprising. Ideas are

jumbled in disorderly sequence, and yet a general introductory survey-response (W) to most of the cards indicates that derangement is not due to basic disability, but rather to an outside overstimulation for display. Her environment seems delighted with Julia's charms and grateful for anything she wants to offer. She appears to be a well-accepted child with all the benefits of this situation.

Nevertheless, like so many other girls, she begins her record with the threatening "mask" response. Unfortunately, she has not elaborated her concepts to the full of her abilities, partly because of her compulsion to go on to the next idea, and partly because she does not usually need to make too great an effort to be understood, and therefore tends to take understanding for granted. A very efficient use of the location-chart partially makes up for inexact verbalization. In most situations this girl will be able to reach, and often surpass, the achievements of competitors by her mental facility. Both her emotional adjustment and her social understanding are intellectually supervised.

FC responses, in which objective form perception is accompanied by subjective coloring, are the only color responses offered in this record. More spontaneous reactions are suppressed. It appears probable that the lack of immediate, undomesticated color-reaction is due to suppression rather than to insensitivity to strong stimuli, since her protocol contains seven human movement responses. Human movement responses depend on a store of inner ideation, which has been gradually accumulated on the basis of experience. Such experience presumes readiness for impressions from the outside and also a capacity for absorption. Julia must have been much more open to them in an earlier life period. Later on, however, she seems to have become more cautious, and her immediate abreactions have decreased. The reason for this type of change in attitude is disappointment. This seems to be a typical characteristic of prepuberal and adolescent girls. In Julia's record, we find some indication that such disappointments actually occurred. There are a large number of Fc (shading) responses, and $2 + 1 C'$ (dark color) responses. Both of these reactions are so-called "shock-absorbers" (Klopfer); they represent the subject's attempt to tone down the intensity of emotional experiences. They are proof of a person's tendency to convince himself that things are not as bad as they seem. In the darkest of all the cards (V), Julia sees "a black evening gown" after having seen four burned out volcanoes. This girl is not as easygoing as she desires to appear. Yet, at this point and under her relatively favorable familial conditions, her marked interest in clothing and her still more evident oral interests prevent a more serious development of her frustration complex. Potatoes, carrots, and frankfurters, all on card X, represent her FC responses, that is, her socially best adjusted reactions. She pleases in a simple, childish, winning manner, pleading for love. This must be particularly disarming in a child of such good intellectual gifts. From Julia's previous deprivations comes the premonition of future threat. It seems that she expects sexual frustrations. Out of seven M responses, three are "old maids," and a fourth is "mermaids." Regardless of whether there is identification with some old maidenish family member, it can be assumed that Julia herself is afraid of that role in life. The mermaid occurs on card VIII in an area where animals are almost always seen in situations highly characteristic for the subject. The

fear of being condemned to a mermaid's unsatisfactory love-life forces her to offer this definite F interpretation, followed by a "mask" to the entire blot, and then by an anatomical concept. These are Julia's reactions to the first completely colored plate, and denote severe color shock.

This, in addition to her reaction to the sexually connoted card VI, places her on the borderline of neurosis. In addition to manifesting some fear and avoidance of sexual problems, on card VI she also gives evidence of her capacity for insight and of a natural sense of humor, which also appears in several other places. Julia sees "a cat sitting on a backfence and hollering." The back fence is the part of the blot which is frequently seen as a feminine symbol. It is just a fence to her, while the usual masculine portion is given three interpretations with refined reaction to shading. Julia's attraction to phallic protrusions in many of the cards is obvious. She sees "horns" in I, and "a nose" and "a candle" in II, and the side protrusions on the very disturbing card V are interpreted as "foxes' open mouths." Masculinity is quite disturbing to her, so that even the usual "men" on card III are deprived of their human qualities, and are called "grasshoppers in butler's uniform," emphasizing the darkness of the suits. This and the "boot" concept as her first reaction to card IV, suggest some ambivalence in her relationship to her father. The male figures in the record are of nutritive or providing character: "milkmen, bunking their heads" on card X, or "little boys, kicking the men," in aggression; while on the same card she sees "two animals, having babies," evidently using a small, darker brown area within a yellow spot for an embryo concept. This interpretation by its contrast with the sterile "old maids" idea, evidences this girl's intense and acute preoccupation with the problem of procreation. The fact that she allows herself to verbalize the idea of pregnancy indicates some freedom and confidence, in view of her strong restrictive tendencies. The "Siamese Twins," seen on card VII, hint at a very close relationship with either her sister or her mother, which makes her wish for prolonged home-security and continued opportunity to avoid the disturbing problems of the outside world.

GRAPHOLOGY

The planning of lines and words in this writing indicates high intelligence; entanglement with lower loops of previous lines is avoided despite the wavering of lines. The wavering indicates Julia's insecurity and need for guidance. Evidently Julia gets from her environment as much support as she needs, although she needs a great deal. Her relationships with her family seem sound, overdependency notwithstanding. Overemphasis on the lower loops, which are long and carry pressure, and their childish round forms tell us that this girl's main interests are in her original relationships. Her sexual attachments have not yet been completely severed from her childish objects. Yet there is a clear shift of pressure from the vertical strokes, which are the usual carriers of full pressure, to the horizontals. This in a girl, shows protest, but not the active, "tomboyish" playing of a boy's role. Probably Julia would like to be a boy, but is too resigned to strive for a boy's activities.

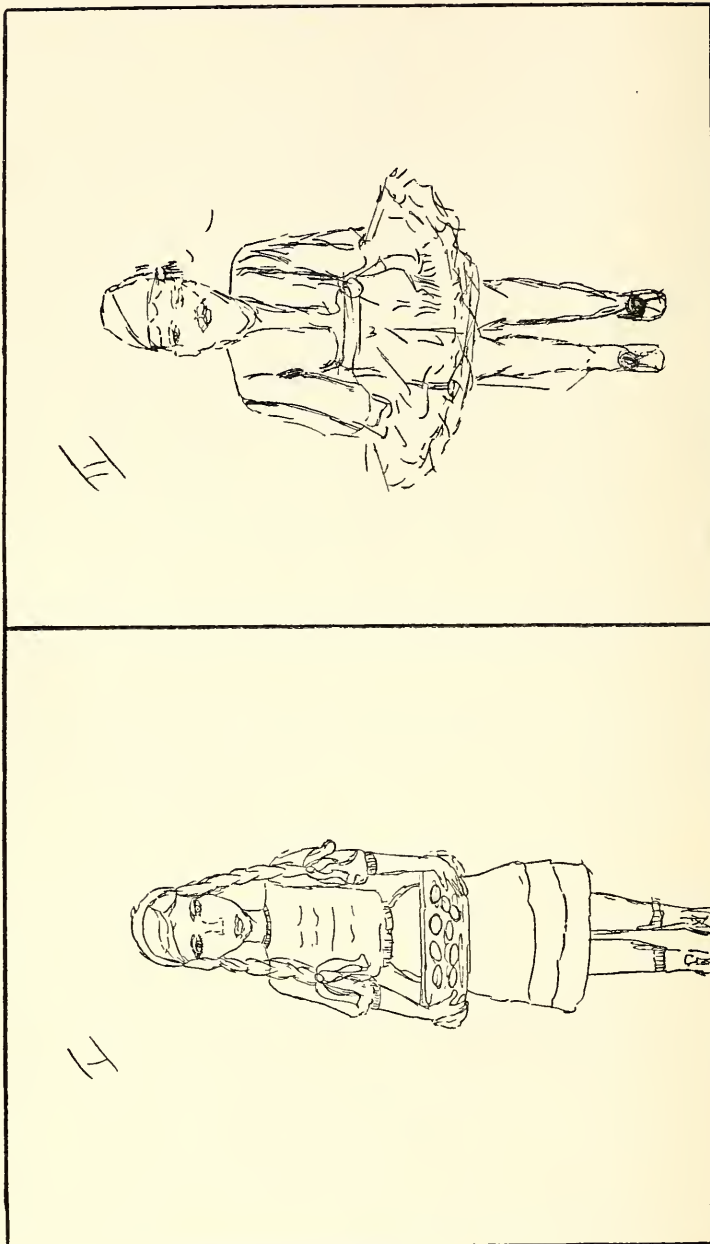


PLATE XVIII—Human Figure Drawings by Julia (puberal).

Her high and round upper loops reveal dreams and fantasies of an indefinite type, not referring to a certain sex. The general roundness of letters, particularly those of the middle zone, reveal a receptive oral approach to the world, which prevents fast maturation. Words will often fall down below the lines, as she becomes tired and sad. She cannot keep her goals in sight for a long period, but with little perseverance yields to feelings of frustration and compensates by day-dreams for her lost masculine role, which she had only half-heartedly desired in the first place. She appears to be in a transitional stage, undecided as to her actual role, and therefore mainly relying on the infallible support of her parents. She is cooperative and friendly in a submissive, childish way, earning enough approval to feel secure, but depressive moods must occur; some of her outbursts, indicated in her pointed, pressure-carrying endings, are of a whining, crying-spell nature. The usual aggression, as expressed in sharply pointed upward tending endings, are replaced by round ending strokes of uneven pressure, which tend downward rather than upward. Long and heavy initial strokes seem to keep her back as control measures, acting as prevention rather than as a moderation. Julia is fearful of the consequences of any action. Thus she restrains her radius of action in the same way she restrains her own growth. Cautious, rather fearful of life in general, and reluctant to grow into a woman, Julia remained an intelligent, dreamy, well-behaved child in the sheltered parental home.

HUMAN FIGURE DRAWING

Julia is identified by her drawings as an early puberal, who, from the standpoint of emotional maturity, is even retarded. We have in her a mingling of persisting prepuberal fantasies of being a mother and having a baby, heightened by the fact of her entrance into womanhood. The implications of her new status and definition of adulthood are still tied to her prepuberal allegiances and goals. Psychologically and sexually, Julia has not left her home and parental ties. She is a duplicate of her mother, destined to bring new babies into the world, to feed them, and receive in turn the love and support of the environment. More independent projection of her affectional needs and sexual stirrings has not developed as yet. Childish oral dependence upon parents, and symbolically upon all the future adult world is the central theme and technique of adjustment reflected in her drawings. The threat of independent maintenance of herself is sufficiently great to throw Julia into a flurry of fantasy preoccupations, discouragement, and withdrawal. Nor is she driven by the puberal stirrings to experiment with new horizons of emotional interests. Freedom from restraint and emancipation are not sufficiently valuable to her to permit jeopardy of the cosy, warm nest which was her childhood. Julia has been a mild, rather timid, and essentially fantasy absorbed girl who accepted regulation as the price of acceptance. She is essentially passive, lacking in drive or individuality in her behavior. Impulse life has been kept under control by habitually neat and obsessive reactions and occasional outbursts of temper in the home. Puberal onset, with its surge of body turmoil, has only forced Julia to mobilize more day-dreaming, more obsessive controls and observance of regulation, and more sadness.

In the drawings, we find a very sad and dependent girl depicted. She is self-absorbed and is listlessly holding a tray of tarts which she is presumably offering. Self-identification is acknowledged directly. The figure is described as the same age as Julia, and with many of Julia's characteristics, which are checked as self-traits. In the verbal characterization that Julia gives to the figure, she expresses fair satisfaction with herself, although it is not too communicative or detailed. She describes the girl as a baby-sitter with an ambition to become an "obstetrician." This ambition cannot be considered an intellectual drive for professional achievement, but rather an intellectualization of a prepuberal interest in babies, in being a mother to the whole world. She considers the girl pretty, smart, healthy, calm, and people like her. She has no nervous or bad habits. She loves school and home. She considers bicycling a good time and never goes out with the boys. She will marry "one with good character" (perhaps like her father). Wishes remain within the realm of individual peace and comfort. They are for happiness, prosperity, and health. Marriage, love, or career, which are recorded wishes for many of the more advanced puberals, are not mentioned.

Julia's verbal description of the male figure is quite individual and reinforces the impression that her concept of men is very immature and bound entirely to her relationship to her father. He is a Greek guard, changing guards, 52 years of age, is illiterate, handsome, calm, loves his family, and has no bad habits. His only concern is a bigger salary and a better home. He has two sons. The last is interesting in view of the fact that her family consists of two girls. This suggests some feeling that she could be closer to her father if she were a boy. The father or even the grandfather age that she imposes upon the male gives more evidence of fixation of emotional and psychosexual thinking on her father. She is, in her own fantasy terms, replacing the mother by having a baby and feeding the world. In her image of the male, Julia relaxes all standards for achievement. He is illiterate. He is just handsome, parades around in a costume, is obedient as a guard, and his only wish is to get a medal. Simple reward and acceptance for exhibiting himself decoratively is the extent to which Julia will extend herself in her adjustment. Although projected upon the male, it is judged to characterize Julia's family adjustment.

The male is made to smile and look generally gay and decorative in the drawings, while the female is sad (lower on the page) and given the more useful role of feeding others. Feeding is connected closely with the pregnancy fantasy, the tray of tarts that look more like eggs, cutting across the pelvic area. The pelvic area in the male receives extension in a more exposed and exhibitionistic way, with the short, girlish ballerina skirt that he is wearing. From the degree of oral emphasis that we see in the drawings, we may judge Julia to have been a feeding problem. The male is treated not only with more gaiety, optimism, and display, but he is permitted some transparencies around the sexual region, (shows reinforcement of line at inner legs of male), and is given a vastly more disturbed line than the female. This confirms the impression that the father-image features centrally in Julia's sexual fantasies, resulting in guilt and strained relationships with him. The male is no bigger than the female, despite his considerably older age. He is distinctly less of a reality for Julia than the female—

herself. Julia's over-intent eyes, combined with transparencies in the sexual region of the male, suggest considerable voyeuristic curiosity. The arms of the male are shorter and made more decorative than functional—a feature which corresponds with the reduction of standards of achievement for the male.

Placement on the page is fairly assertive, but the self-assertion is more in the fantasy realm, judging by the large head, good size of the drawing, absorbed facial expression, lightness of line, and interests in detailing. The female is given a stronger nose than the male and very much more hair. The male is just permitted a clownish hat to account for his virility and social presentability. Though the hair of the female is long, it is carefully restrained by elaborate bows and thick braids. Girls who deny their growing sexual body characteristics frequently substitute braids for breasts. With this restraint of hair, which is interpreted as repression of impulses and of sexual vitality, we find a careful part in the hair, a tightened waistline, and prim, but elaborated and high neckline. The latter constitutes additional graphic evidence of inhibition and almost obsessive control. The socks and shoes receive similarly over-meticulous treatment. With all of this holding in, it is no wonder that we see sadness, shading of the body indicating not too well acknowledged anxiety, anxious fragmented line, and several tiers of skirt, reflecting a reluctance and indecision about growing up. Adulthood is probably equated with more restraints and inhibitions. The mother model is probably one of over-control. The female is given a long, stiff neck separating the impulse life from the rational functions of the head, while the male is given no neck. He is freer to express himself on a spontaneous and happy level than the female. The male also lacks the decisive chin which is given the female.

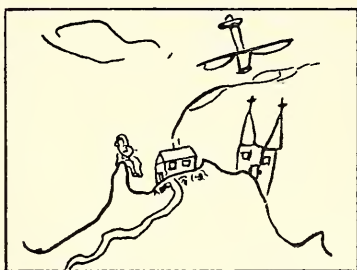
In summary, we find Julia a very young puberal, who is emotionally and psychosexually more consistent with the prepuberals. An especially sheltered home, perhaps over-solicitous and older parents favored the delay in independence drives. Julia has learned only one technique of handling her social and emotional environment, and that is by neatness, obedience, and display for the amusement of and adulation of elders. Her relatively recent puberty and the new world which is unfolding in its wake, is somewhat threatening, and she attempts superficial evasion, rather than meeting her conflicts on any depth level. Superficially, everything is fine. The female feeds and provides nourishment, and she has babies, while the male is unaccomplished, somewhat of a clown, and just worried about providing for the family. These adult images have left Julia without too great an incentive to hurry and grow up, and she is dawdling over her childhood somewhat more than other girls of her age. Romance and marriage do not enter her drawing projections, while interest in having babies and father attachment are indicated in a variety of ways. Julia, though immature, has sufficiently good intelligence, outgoing social needs, and good work habits to weather the storm. She is not allowing the clouds to gather too threateningly. If she continues in her sheltered environment, it may never become necessary for her to face problems of femininity on a more profound level than she is now doing. The question is whether Julia will ever make a more creative adjustment than the passive restraint that she shows now.



1



2



3



4



5



6

PLATE XIX—Horn-Hellersberg Test pictures drawn by Julia (puberal).

1. Girl reading a book. 2. Pan. 3. Praying on the Holy Mountain.
4. Let me see the paper, please. 5. Haughty lady. 6. A princess entering a castle.

HORN-HELLERSBERG TEST

At first glance, Julia's test impresses one as being that of a well balanced girl for her age. Her relation to objective reality is high. Fifty-six per cent of all items have immediate reference to her present day home life. She draws an older sister in her first picture (see No. 1). Her sister, who is actually twenty years old, is drawn to look like a girl of Julia's own age.

In the first drawing she seems to be instantly at the peak of her abilities and she chooses the square which most of the other subjects consider the most difficult. It is done with a convincing surety. The two lines which are given suggest to her an immediate relationship, neck line and shoulder of a girl and a book in front of her. This shows good integration and an excellent capacity for spatial arrangements.

Toys and dolls appear in the next pictures, her own rag doll and a dog. Her father is reading a newspaper. These are all parts of her home environment. The drawings show lively motion, but are done naively without much thinking. Several drawings are very expressive, while her comments are scanty and inarticulate.

Judging from Chart A, the tabulation of the contents, her emotional relation to reality is not very articulate; it is present but somewhat one-dimensional. Her emotions lack differentiation, which must be related to some inhibition. The true character of such inhibitory forces can only be inferred indirectly. They do not show instantly on the surface, as the topics show good variety. Her vivid family attachment and her play with dolls appear to show an emotional ease, but it is this somewhat childlike contentment which makes her appear happy. In this child world she shows lively movement, creative ability, and elasticity of expression.

A few humans are presented with tender empathy. The happy home atmosphere must be real. However, her ease in adapting her imagery to the given lines is decidedly a quality of the prepuberal. She reacts to stimuli naively. To draw according to the requirements appears to her as an uncomplicated task. This proves that self-consciousness is not yet bothering her, a fact which is surprising. For certain reasons the problem of growing up is kept away from her consciousness and, therefore, her close relation to her immediate and concrete environment seems to be an escape. This may explain her inarticulateness in verbal expression as well as her lack of differentiation from an emotional point of view. To this belong her social limitations; she leans entirely on what her family life offers her. There is no conception of a world beyond the family except frequent references to books she reads, and yet these books are those of a ten-year-old. The first picture, "Pretty Girl," is followed by a picture-book presentation of a locomotive. The next picture is "Pan"; a cracked line is used for his face which is topped with a devilish horn, and his chin ends in a pointed beard (see picture 2). Here the stroke is more uncertain than in any other picture. Two stumps of arms hang aimlessly down. The figure is seated but one cannot say where or how. Three large sweeping lines surround the figure but they are not used to give the figure contour. Pan is boxed in between these lines. The

figure is drawn clumsily and does not compare with any of the other drawings, which are sure, expressive, lively in every stroke.

The picture which follows seems to be another variation of the same theme but in an entirely different way. "Praying on the holy mountain" is the title (see picture 3). The sharp mountain line (E—) with the top to the right is accepted as the leading contour of the mountainside. A church with two steeples pierces the air on the right edge of these mountain lines. A center door and two windows give the church the appearance of a devil's face with two horns. In the middle of the mountain ridge is a house with a long smoke flag going up (again an emphasis on the erective theme). A somewhat ragged road leads up to this house, but the road does not point to the door. Instead it leads to the wall where there is no entrance. To the left of the house, a figure is propped up on the phallic-like elevation of this mountain line. The figure, obviously a female with a veil or halo around her head and big thighs, is either a shrine or maybe a praying person. The variety of phallic symbols in this picture is extremely vivid, and the theme itself is a search for sublimation. An unconscious wrestling with the male problem must be present. The next picture is that of a child begging her father for the newspaper with her comment, "I do that every day" (see picture 4). Her arms are clumsy, two right arms and no left arm, while the father's body is entirely hidden behind the newspaper, with only his head and legs showing. Another ambiguous male picture is "Mandarin." One sees a big nose in profile and underneath a pointed mustache, with a sensuous mouth line seen in front. This is a new variety of the former theme of suppressed curiosity about the male.

In the picture called "Seder," one high chair is on top of a family table. This means the dominance of the father. The table is set with cups and plates and small chairs are assembled around. No people are shown, but the whole scene looks inviting. Her child world seems to be guarded under this majestic father image. We wonder where her own femininity is. After "Seder" follows a "Haughty Lady" with stiffly drawn narrow lips and closed eyes (see picture 5). The head is bent backward showing a goitre-like neckline. Julia certainly does not like this type of woman and she quickly swings herself back into a "Dolly" world showing "The doll she likes best."

The last picture without lines brings a "Ballet Dancer" who also looks like a doll taking strenuous exercises, high on one toe. No movement is shown. Glamour has no attraction to Julia but appears to her as a strenuous exercise. The woman's adult world is still hidden from her and the "Fairy Queen Entering a Castle" (see picture 6) probably represents her capacity to escape to a fairy world of childhood which she uses as a fortress.

One may summarize: Julia is extremely young and childlike. She counteracts puberal tension by an escape to a younger level. Femininity is obscure to her and the male is an object to hide from her consciousness, suppressing his existence. Curiosity with regard to the male and erective tensions are palpable; they appear as the only possible expression of disturbance which she experiences on a deeper level. Her animated child fantasy still can distract her for a while. One has reason to hope that her great flexibility and alert intelligence will carry

her over a shock which probably will come soon. Her family and her environment must have supported her tendency to maintain her child world, and, therefore, their attitude will influence the form of transition she has ahead. Her unconscious preoccupation with erective phallic tendencies is definitely puberal, although at the same time it causes suppression of the man as a real person. (See "Pan.") The father figure is still accepted as a support for her super-ego, but inhibiting forces prevent her from utilizing greater emotional mobility adequate for her age (narrowness of subjective zone, Chart A). In general she makes a wholesome impression in spite of her backwardness in social and emotional development. Her roots are sufficiently in contact with concrete life for her to draw from them energies for further growth when she is ready for it. Her intelligence is outstanding and her emotionality, soft and gentle as it is, has flexibility, a good indication for growing. On the whole, she is one of the exceptionally well balanced girls of this developmental stage. Her problem will be whether she is willing to give up her present scheme for security and reach out for a new one.

J E A N

Adolescent

SUMMARY

Jean seems to have had a happy childhood (HH) and a protective home environment (R, TAT). Her family relationships have been secure, and she considers the world a kind and friendly place (TAT). But in a typical adolescent manner she is vacillating between dependence on her family (TAT, G) and being irritable and critical of them (G), struggling for independence in a somewhat defensive manner (G).

Her sound family life (FD) seems to have provided the basis for her warm emotionality (FD, G, TAT), her capacity for wholehearted participation (HH), and her underlying optimism (TAT). However, her independence has been delayed (R) so that she remains emotionally tied to family tradition (G). Independence appears painful (R) and threatening to her (FD, R, TAT), and a good deal of uncertainty results (FD). She is anxious about the future (HH) and seems conflicted about marriage and a career (FD).

At the present time she is restless (FD) and unstable (R) with fairly frequent mood swings (FD). She is rather excited and agitated and tends to over-react (R). Her anxiety and tension result in some restraint (R), and her fear of rebuff (FD) results in emotional caution (R, G). Since her control is so precarious (R), occasional temper outbursts can be expected (R, FD).

Jean also has feelings of self-consciousness (HH), inadequacy (R), insecurity (R, FD), and fear (R, G). These seem to intensify her needs for dependency (FD), support (FD), and affection (TAT). She seems intensely afraid of loss of love, and from this is derived her tendency to introject those whom she loves (G). At this point Jean feels that there is a good deal of aggression directed against her, and, although basically unaggressive, she responds with defensive aggression.

Her present introversive swing (FD), with its narcissistic dreaminess (G), its probing and self-absorption (FD), is undoubtedly a reaction to and escape from her inner and outer problems, for she has both the capacity (R) and the need for social participation (FD), and her approach is essentially an emotional one (TAT).

Jean is well endowed (HH), and has a highly original (HH, FD) and integrative (HH) intelligence, but she is not fully employing these resources (HH). She lacks confidence in her achievements (FD) and tends to be oversensitive to criticism (FD). She is not an "intellectual" (TAT); at this point she would like to substitute sensual and affectional life for intellectual achievement (FD). It is perhaps for these reasons that she projects her ambitions on to her future husband (FD, G), while wanting protection for herself (G). In contemplation, Jean is driven to extremes of relaxation (FD); there are moody retreats into romanticism and sentimentality (FD). (On the TAT, however, girlish roman-

ticism was conspicuously absent.) There is no real depression (FD), but Jean's fantasy life seems to absorb her more productive energies (R).

Jean is quite conscious of her body (FD) and probably somewhat unhappy about her figure (FD). Her tendency toward body exhibitionism is repressed (FD). She feels inadequate and insecure in the sexual area (R), and she is conflicted and disturbed about her sexual future (FD). Her strong sensuous desires are inhibited (G). While there seems to have been a feminine awakening (HH), it has not yet found its own personal expression (HH) and her affection is not yet clearly channelized in a mature heterosexual direction (FD, TAT). Jean is interested in bringing up a family, the maternal side of femininity (HH, FD), perhaps because of her close affiliation (TAT) and identification with her mother (G). She seems to have a strong but ambivalent attachment to her father (G) and to see him chiefly in the role of a protector (R). It is interesting that that is also the role which she projects for her future husband (G). Her relationship to her brother may also be fraught with ambivalence, since the TAT gave evidence of unusual affection for him, while the FD found suggestions of rivalry.

Jean is basically sound (FD, HH) and well-equipped (R). Her disturbances and conflicts are typical of adolescence (FD), and her adjustment is good (TAT) within its limitations (G).

THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

Girlish romanticism is noticeably absent. There are two heterosexual stories, and both of these are stereotyped and of little personal meaning. The associations to (9), however, are unusual and probably of personal significance. The common interpretation by late adolescent girls is that the woman at the window is looking at a plane overhead which is bringing home a husband or sweetheart. Jean instead has the girl waiting for the return of a beloved brother for whom she is preparing dinner. In (6) concern for children is shown in the story of a woman, turned nurse for the duration of the war, who adopts an orphan and lavishes on him a great deal of maternal affection. The soft emotions are well developed in Jean, and she has strong affectional needs, even though there is little thematic evidence that these needs are being focused on boys. The desire for warmth in human relationships is brought out in the story of two close school chums who are separated when one of them is unfairly expelled. Later they are united and stay together for the rest of their lives (12). Although Jean may have intimate ties with girl friends, inversion is not seriously suspected; her affections have simply not yet been channelized definitely toward the opposite sex. Her positive feelings go out more toward family, friends, and children; because of retarding influences at home the psychological preparation for an adult love relationship is incomplete.

If boys are not important to her, her family is—and particularly her mother. Several stories converge on the theme of family solidarity. In (1) a child, who had previously been mistreated by her stepmother, finds happiness with a foster family; she says that when she is grown and has her own family she wants it to be just like the one that has cared for her. In (3) there is a very

hardworking family; the daughter becomes a maid, daydreams of having fine things, then decides her family is happier than the wealthy people for whom she works. In (8) a daughter is shown massaging the neck of her tired, overworked mother. They are said to have such a wonderful relationship together, are kind, generous, loving people, and hopeful too, for they expect some day to escape the filth of the city and live idyllically in the country.

Nothing is said specifically about paternal characters, but the relationship with the brother in (9) is uncommonly affectionate and leads to speculation. There appear to be secure family relationships with very close affiliation between mother and daughter. Jean is dependent on a family that has always sheltered and protected her, possibly to such an extent that the degree of maturity appropriate for her age has not been achieved. This emotional under-development is reflected in the slight interest in young men and in fear of adult responsibilities. But on the whole Jean has made a good social adjustment from the firm foundation given by the security she has known in her family circle.

Endings are usually happy; Jean is basically optimistic. Because of the affection she has known at home and the privileges of her social class, her subjective world in a kind and friendly place. She is inclined toward sentimentality, and her approach is intuitive and emotional. While scarcely an intellectual, Jean is not unintelligent, and her attitudes are wholesome and benevolent.

RORSCHACH TEST

The number of Rorschach responses is 30, which is average for the adolescents in general, but a slightly restricted output for the sophisticated intellectual of Jean's school. This tendency toward self-restraint as to quantity, while qualitatively self-exposing manifestations are tolerated by her or could not be suppressed, is one of the characteristic features of this record.

There is an even "experience balance" between introversive fantasies and spontaneous color reaction (8:8). This does not mean balance, but it means that there is some capacity present for both daydreaming (8M) and outside stimulation. Although this capacity is by no means used for harmony and poise, it still offers its prospects for future adjustment. At this point Jean is in a rather excited, agitated state. The relationship among her various color responses reveals acute instability ($FC = 2+1$, $CF = 1+1$, $C = 2+1$). This shows a dominance of over-reactive, quick tempered motility in a girl whose fantasy life ties down her more productive energies. Control therefore is most precarious at this point which explains again the necessity of numerical restriction of her reactions (number of responses, 30).

The deeper layers of her subconsciousness appear as being greatly occupied by fears. An excessive amount of dark color and shading responses reveals acute and painful feelings of inadequacy and insecurity. The content of these responses proves them closely related to sexual images and ideas. Both color and shading frequently touch upon repressed material of dynamic power, causing all the more tenseness and fear of explosive, sudden discharges. Thus we find "m" responses (inanimate forces acting) so frequently that their number even surpasses that of the much more usual animal-movement responses (FM 3+1,

m 5+1). Animal movement manifests more primitive, more relaxed acceptance of inner drives. But even they have turned wild in Jean at present. The three animal-movement responses are: "A bat swooping down with open mouth and open claws on some smaller animal" (card I); "horses as seen in a nightmare, snorting flames" (IX, 3); and in card VI: "a turtle stretching out its neck." Card VI, the "sex card," gives the cue to the problem of acute turmoil in a basically rather well equipped personality. A well shelled, well protected, slow turtle stretches her head out and the following response to the same card announces what happens. "A rocket, or bomb soaring toward the sky, separating the walls of a building." Here the shading has a tumultuous effect on her—whatever the building may stand for in her own association, it is bursting. This is in strong contrast with the very relaxed answers she finds to card VII, where baby birds are seen in a nest. It is clear that the act of separation, of independence, necessary and already delayed, is especially painful in an adolescent who felt so unusually satisfied in the protective atmosphere of her family. Life appears cruel to her in its demands for maturation.

Inanimate (m) responses of a very active, aggressive type symbolize life, rather than any particular individual, to be the dangerous attacker against whom even the father-protector is powerless. Card V, even before she can see the popular "moth," she vividly conceives of as "A medicine man, attacked by two buffalo," but she continues in her own inquiry, "frequently buffalo were killed by Indians." So the outcome of the battle is not yet quite clear. Jean's father is a "medicine man," a specialized physician. He affords her protection in many ways and still seems to have maintained some of his magic power over her. But the topic of fight dominates her movement responses altogether. In card II the "hardness of the struggle can be seen by the blood or the force of the blows represented by the red." Here it is the color, not the shading, which arouses very direct fear and defensive aggression—or fear of aggression and subsequent reactive hostility. Jean is basically unaggressive and unassertive. Her human movement responses are mostly flexor movements; men are bowing, cooks are "spoiling the soup in the pot below them," and also "looking into a mirror to see the reflection." These are rather self-mirroring and inward-tending fantasies.

It seems that Jean is not out to meet life. She is anxious and cautious. But she realizes that at this very moment life is most probably out to challenge her for a fight, for which she feels to be only inadequately equipped. Nevertheless, there is no reason to assume that Jean will not be able to find her way out of the acute sexual agitation, which is not a panic. Nowhere do we see a break, nor even a severe reduction in her judgment. Anxiously, but basically well equipped, she will in all probability grow into the role which society assigns to her.

GRAPHOLOGY

This type of writing is characteristic of a certain socio-economic group of adolescent girls—the upper middle class.

Round, circular letters bespeak the narcissistic dreaminess of the group, while the backhand slant shows some struggle for independence from the past. In Jean we have a very interesting variation of the general pattern. She shows an



PLATE XX—Human Figure Drawings by Jean (adolescent).

unusual reluctance to go underneath the base line—to dive into the lower zone of her instinctual desires. Yet the thick, pasty stroke of her letters indicates strong sensuous desires. Her indisposition to cut through the base line is an inhibition, an unwillingness, which counteracts the sensuous desires seen in the middle zone.

Print when resorted to by adults always means a tendency to hide behind objectivity and sophistication. It serves Jean and many girls of her group as a screen too. The connecting upstroke between letters, indicative of a person's social approach, is omitted in printing. Jean does not omit them consistently, but even where they are present they are superfluous because of the very marked closeness of letters within a word. Instead of connecting the letters, she crowds them together. Thus, instead of connecting herself with the world outside, she almost introjects those whom she loves. She certainly has a very close identification with her mother and most probably also a strong, but ambivalent attachment to her father, and to his equivalent, her brother.

Her intellectual capacity for judgment notwithstanding, she remains emotionally tied to family tradition. However, the slight backhand slant, which in many places substitutes for the intended vertical downstroke, indicates trends towards self-defensive emancipation from her old and beloved ties. They are frequent but short lived.

Jean evidently becomes irritable and critical of her family members, on whom she largely relies. She has to rely on them because she is a fearful girl who subconsciously considers possible loss of love and possessions very intensely, as is shown by the crowding of her letters as well as by the fear of the lower zone and also by the wide right-hand margins, which are left empty.

Her writing is small and suppressed, her desire for enterprise stunted. The upper zone, which is, by nature of pointing, somewhat constricted, shows moreover many shortened and slightly arched forms. Arching is one way of counteracting any daring intrusion into the upper realm of planning and scheming. Indeed Jean, though intellectually sophisticated, is not personally ambitious. Protection means more to her than success and she probably consciously projects her own aspirations on a strong and efficient husband who should be older and wiser and a father substitute for a lifetime.

Despite very strong basic fears, Jean has developed a mode of adjustment which seems in harmony with her actual life situation. Her inner resources are rich enough to cope with the rather mild exigencies of her life and she has developed into an intelligent, emotionally cautious but warm person who indulges in daydreams of a relatively close to reality nature. Her adjustment to her environment is very good within its protective limitations.

HUMAN FIGURE DRAWING

The original and expressive drawings and the serious and thoughtful associations to the figures drawn supply a canvas for some of the central problems disturbing the adolescent girl of Jean's socio-economic group. Profound self-absorption and probing into larger meanings and values of life set the body-image theme of the drawings. Romanticism, sentimentality, and moody retreats give

emotional flavor to the last threshold conflicts about growing up and assuming independence. In Jean's case, the presence of a younger brother with whom there is obvious rivalry for the affection of both parents, and a successful professional as a father, intensifies the conflict between marriage and a career. Not unlike many of the girls of her set, Jean is driven, at least in contemplation, to extremes of relaxation. Many of the adolescents of the higher brackets give expression to "back to nature" retreats from the social complications and the seemingly overwhelming challenges of adulthood.

Jean draws the female first. She is described as 16, which, significantly enough, is the age of Jean's brother. She is letting the breeze blow through her hair. This is symbolically suggestive of extreme surrender to sensual and physical satisfactions of a basic and elemental character. This theme is further strengthened by the characterization of the female as a shepherdess whose ambition is to marry and settle down on a farm. She is well equipped in terms of intelligence, health, good looks, and disposition, but she is restless, cannot relax, and drives to get work done. It is obvious from both drawings and character portrayals that Jean is now experiencing acute internal pressure and conflict regarding her sexual and social future. It is also apparent, however, that these disturbances are transitory in nature, and are superimposed upon what appears to be a sound personality with good family relationships, and basically warm emotionality.

Friendliness, sincerity, responsibility, peace, and kindness are stressed for both of the characters that Jean has created. She is obviously a girl of strong dependency needs who has been disconcerted by the challenge, or perhaps threat of independence. The female figure, with whom she identifies one aspect of herself, wishes only to do simple, everyday things with a man she loves. She wishes mainly to have children, make her husband happy, and have world peace. Heterosexual interest of a mature nature are incidental to children and affectional satisfactions. The need for warmth, care, human contact, and protection is distinctly primary. Ambition to become a doctor is left to the male, who is characterized as 21, already an adult, concerned about finishing his education and following in the footsteps of his father. Jean identifies the character as her brother, whom she has, in her daydreams, forced into adulthood, while she, though older, has taken the place of her 16-year-old brother in the characterization of the female. The male is further described as thinking and daydreaming, which is in accord with her own introverted swing. But with the male she associates thinking and mental activity, while with the female, the retreat is largely physical and sensual. It is a barefoot girl, athletic, walking energetically, with the breeze blowing through her hair. The resolution of the conflict in favor of a career is thus definitely consigned to the male. But the conflict does not end there, since Jean is admittedly identified with him in some aspects and would like to be both the daydreaming boy looking toward a professional future and a healthy shepherdess guarding her young.

In the drawings, the projection of all physically expressive and release traits upon the female and the thinking, daydreaming, and family sheltering aspects upon the male is even more pronounced. The need for background in both gives evidence of the insecurity and need for support. For the female figure,

however, it is mother earth that she walks upon, while for the male, it is on top of a hill, indicating aspiration. He is seated, so that all physical aspects are muted to better concentrate on his professional future. He, though described as older than the female, is much smaller and more frail. His head, the center of mental activity, is relatively larger than that of the female. In contradiction to the physical inactivity and weakness, the male is given an athletic "P" on his chest, a symbol of perpetuating the family name. In this case, it would mean following at the heels of his father, professionally.

The many erasures are indicative of restlessness. Reinforcements of a relatively dim line are suggestive of mood swings and occasional temper outbursts in a girl of sensitivity and essential shyness. We find that the facial features, which refer to social communication, are especially underestimated in favor of body exhibitionism and expression. The near transparency that is seen in the legs through the skirt, the random lines on the skirt and the agitated nature of the lines in general, underscore the impression of active sexual disturbance and physical restlessness conveyed by the messed up and flying hair. This body consciousness is handled with a firm effort to zone the functional parts of the body that are disturbing. Thus a darkened and elaborate belt separates the above from the below. Further, there is no continuity of body lines at the waistline. The neck has a tight choker to separate rational from physical elements, so that "back to nature" impulses will not be obstructed. The bare-shoulder blouse corroborates the impression of strong needs for body-exhibitionism which are repressed and have filled Jean with conflict. The scalloped and uncertain hemline is consistent with uncertainty about growing and how big to be. Despite the drive to physical relaxation expressed in the female figure, we find retained a strong interest in clothing and adornment. This is an aspect of modern culture which suits Jean's exhibitionistic needs, though she has taken her hat off and "let her hair down."

Lack of confidence in achievement, expressed in the associations as a need to get work done and finish a good education, is graphically denoted in the fading out and tapering off of hands of both figures. Arms remain fairly long, retaining the virtue of ambitiousness. The "bangs" effect in the female figure is another way of expressing the drive to substitute sensual and affectional life for intellectual achievement (forehead). Insecurity as reflected in the use of background, the retreat and self-absorption themes, the disturbance of lines and erasures, is seen also in the vague and erased treatment of the feet. The oversized ear on the male speaks for oversensitivity to criticism. The omission of the mouth on the female raises the suggestion that it is the mother who is overcritical. The cut-off, reinforced nose on the male is regarded as an expression of expected rebuff. Jean shows much uncertainty about her body contours, says that over-eating is the girl's worst habit, and omits the mouth, leading to the conjecture that she is unhappy about her figure. The binding of the head with several circles corresponds with the introversive character of the portrayals. It usually indicates obsessive thoughts. None of the social or facial features project, although the need for social participation is great (reinforcement of facial profile of male). In Jean's state of conflict, it is the male who is permitted social projection and accomplishment. It is of interest that the male figure is even provided the pro-

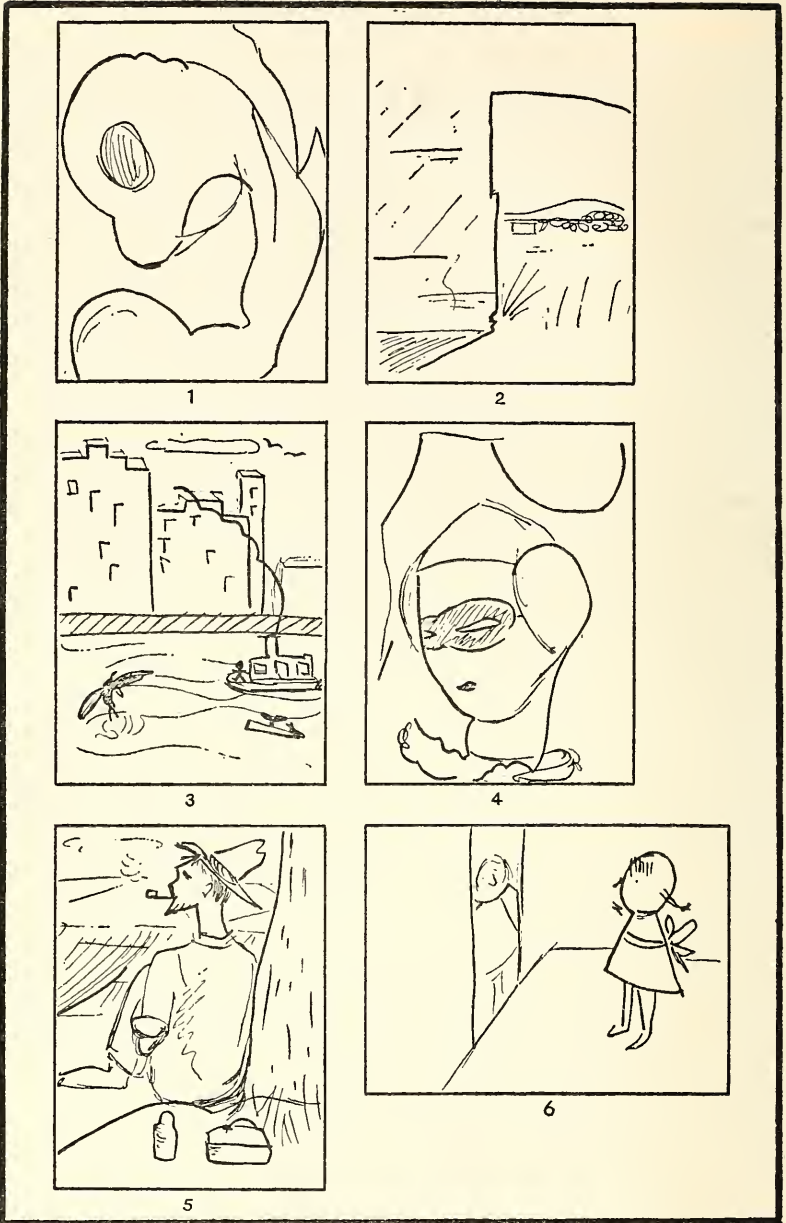


PLATE XXI—Horn-Hellersberg Test pictures drawn by Jean (adolescent).

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Fetus | 2. Open barn door |
| 3. East River scene | 4. Masquerade |
| 5. Noon | 6. Mirror, mirror on the wall |

tection of a sheltering tree, the symbol of mother-protection. He is also expected to maintain family traditions, while the female must seek refuge and expression in her body functions and her service to the male.

The disturbance and conflict that are projected in the drawings are so typical of the adolescent girl, especially of Jean's group, that they are considered benign in the developmental sense. Though Jean is moody, she shows no tendencies to real depressions. Her sentiments are rather strong and overconcentrated, but they are warm and healthy, and there is no impression of serious antagonisms existing in the family constellation, although rivalries are manifest. The future adjustment rating for this girl is, therefore, considered good.

HORN-HELLERSBERG TEST

Comparing Jean with other college girls, she appears very young. She draws a good amount of vivid child memories and one receives the impression of a slight nostalgia connected with her past. Her childhood must have been pleasant and rich in mental and emotional stimuli. Her wish to work with children may be an expression of just this fact.

Her test results show elements of feminine awakening. There is little of glamour in common terms and no princess-like prettiness, a feature other adolescents use, but there is a fetus (see picture 1), a barn door open for light (see picture 2), and a far-distant landscape which looks pretty and alluring and as tempting as her association to the French movie, "Harvest," a charming love story.

The directness of these feminine trends is surprising and unusual. Probably her home life has given her the security and an image of feminine tasks. The thought of bringing up four children as her mother did does not arouse anxiety in her. The fetus is an object of scientific interest. Thus she appears secure in that side of femininity which entails bringing up a family, and this holds in spite of her obvious immaturity.

In the sequence of her production one can follow an emotional development. First she hints of books, references to what children and her sister like. She uses all these as disguises for her real feelings. They are indirect expressions and not real rationalizations. Her own feminine development has not yet found its personal note. She does not choose an imagery from which one could obtain an idea of her own particular contribution as a woman.

The variety of pictures and the lively details show a firm and complete rooting in good observations of facts. She shows a capacity to participate wholeheartedly in what happens around her. She finds a great ease in fitting given lines to her projections. There is not one line really overlooked. It is interesting to observe how she develops in her adaptation to this particular task. In the first picture she draws she gets an idea from one line, a house gable (see picture 3, "East River"). The other given lines are integrated stepwise, bringing an elaboration of the house scene by further attributes: the river, the steamer with its smoke-line. After that, from picture to picture, Jean is improving her integrative capacity. In the last picture she becomes highly original (see picture 4, "Winter," picturing a doll in masquerade). The main theme is entirely created by the given

lines. It is so well done that one may think the lines have been created for that particular purpose. Indeed this shows excellent endowment and highly integrative intelligence, and this makes one wonder why this girl has not yet found a focal point of mental interest in the grown-up world.

She makes the remark that the picture without lines pleases her best; it is "Bambi," the Disney movie pet. The reason for her liking it is that "It is drawn freer." This shows that her good adaptation to the lines was due to conscious effort rather than the result of an artistic flair. This makes her originality appear even greater and the step-wise improvements while working prove again that she has more resources than she is employing for her still childlike themes.

All the pictures are three-dimensional. Several of them show an open field and far distance, typical for adolescents. There is always some suggestion of moving people. Her "interaction" quotient is higher than average. In spite of this interaction she usually shows one main figure which is somewhat the observer, as in picture 4. He or she is not acting in as lively a manner as the others. This is reminiscent of the typical adolescent's self-consciousness, which is expressed by watching people around one rather than attempting to mingle in the crowd. But this self-consciousness expresses itself within a social form, other people are not excluded. Her self is strongly motivated toward a sound foundation. Some anxiety about her future is very indirectly expressed by the many childhood themes which appear as a tendency to look backward instead of forward (see picture 6, "Mirror," or 4, "Masquerade"). Such imageries are a disguise to shelter her normal insecurity. There is also indication, however, that she is somewhat prepared for courtship, love, and marriage, since her emotional life appears balanced and her responsiveness to stimuli is remarkable. The open barn door (picture 2) is a feature we find characteristic for maturing toward womanhood. One may assume she will learn and adapt to new things and will be able to grow into an adult feminine role satisfying to herself and relatively free from neuroticism.

R U T H

Adolescent

SUMMARY

Ruth feels rejected by her environment (FD); frustration (FD), affectional deprivation (FD), and traumatic experiences (FD, HH) are all suggested. She feels that the world is hostile (TAT), and she is lonely and isolated (R, TAT). She feels insecure, weak, and inferior (FD). Impotent passivity, despair (G, TAT), and resignation are present (G). The graphologist found no sign of vitality or force and too little aggression and struggle, but the other techniques found considerable evidence of strong drive, hostility, and aggression, which, however, may be reactive and compensatory mechanisms.

Ruth is an oversensitive Negro girl (FD), spirited (FD), rebellious, and defiant (TAT). Her aggression (FD), hostility (TAT), and negativistic independence (R) seem to be defensive (FD). She is personally dissatisfied and critical of society (R). Social prestige and possessions have become important to her (FD), and there is a strong drive for self-expression, which she projects onto a large social canvas as retaliation for social rejection (FD) and deprivation (FD, TAT). Life is sad, Negroes are oppressed (TAT); there are indications of self-pity (G) and possibly a paranoiac quality to her sensitivity (FD).

Ruth is quite impulsive (G, FD) and self-assertive (FD), and her efforts to control this impulsivity are inadequate (TAT, G). Impulsive self-indulgence is followed by sudden and severe restraints (FD). Restraint and constriction also appear as defenses against the confusion that results from overstimulation (R). There are possible obsessive-compulsive characteristics (FD). Ruth is not easily stimulated, but what she does absorb gains a personal coloring (R), although at the cost of some loss of objectivity (HH). She seems to use events as a diving board into her own ideas and dreams (R). There is much anxiety and tension (R, FD, G), and a new social situation probably creates so much embarrassment that she is not able to react in an easy, natural way (R).

There is much inner pressure and confusion (HH) and much pent-up sentimentality (G). Ruth, perhaps too often, retreats into self-absorption (G), dreaminess (G), and an elaborated fantasy life (FD), which seem to serve some ambitious and self-inflation needs (FD). There is a depressive, dysphoric feeling tone (R, FD, TAT, G) and a basic pessimism (G) with suicidal possibilities (FD).

Ruth is intelligent (R, HH) and ambitious (FD, G). Coupled with an intense need for ideational self-expression (FD) is ambition for quality and originality (R) and a compulsive, competitive drive for achievement and distinction (FD).

Ruth's father is not in the home, but she seems strongly attached and identified with a warm and affectionate mother (TAT).

Ruth is anxious and preoccupied with sexual problems (FD, HH), and more deeply involved in them than are most girls her age (HH). There is considerable body preoccupation (R, FD), and she is dissatisfied with it and with her

personal charms (FD), and rather discouraged about being a desirable female (FD). She is quite unhappy about the feminine role (R), sees nothing pleasant in it (HH), fights against its submissive aspects (G), and seems to reject it actively (R) in a masculine protest manner (FD). However, she feels quite dejected and trapped by it (HH). Her identification is with a stronger, more masculine role (FD), and she would perhaps like to possess male as well as female organs (HH). She uses her sexual characteristics aggressively as a means of gaining dominance and control (HH). She seems to have enjoyed little social companionship with boys and to show less than the usual concern with heterosexual objects (TAT). However, her exhibitionistic needs are strong (FD), and she has probably indulged in some sexual practices, about which she feels guilty and adopts a self-punishing attitude (FD). She may be attempting to find escape from her present unhappiness by dreaming of maturity (TAT).

Ruth is immature (R), maladjusted (R, FD), unstable (TAT), and liable to break down (HH). There seems to be the beginning of a possible affective or schizoid process (TAT). Prognosis does not look good (HH) and psychiatric help is needed (FD, TAT, HH).

THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

In many ways this is one of the strangest collections of stories in the entire series. The stories for pictures (1)-(5) make up a single continuous narrative which reveals marked schizoid qualities. Because of the uniqueness of the stories and because of their pathological implications, they will be quoted in full.

(1) Earlier today I sat in a chair besides my mother. She told me something which made me rather sad. Later she read to me while I sat in the same place holding my doll feeling very lonely. Mother said that my only playmate had gone away. When I asked my mother where (2) she said—your friend has gone to Heaven. Will she be back? I asked. Mother said no she won't be back then I started to cry and suddenly I stopped and went into my room or was it my room? About an hour later mother came to my door with a smile on her face but I wasn't there. I was outside looking through the window—looking at my mother and at the room with its books, the table with a lamp that gave off beautiful warm light. Then I called mother don't be alarmed I'm outside the window. I'll be there soon. But mother didn't seem to hear me and my voice seemed far away (3). She sat down and she looked lonely. I kept crying I'll be there soon—don't worry! but she didn't hear me no one heard me I could hardly hear myself.

(4) Everything I see everything I hear seems as if I'm always on the outside of a window yet I see everything clearly. I wonder why my mother sits on the floor with her head buried in the chair pillow. She is crying. Do I make her cry? Is it possible that she misses me?

(5) Now my father is home my mother embraces him, comforts him as she tells him something that I can not hear. It makes him sad but why can't I hear? Is it because I have heard to much sadness today or Is it because I have remained outside the window?

The narrative recital does not hang together rationally, shows confabulation and depersonalization, feelings of being isolated, alone, and profoundly lonely. The tone is one of infinite sadness and pathos. Despite the affect, the thinking bears an unmistakable schizophrenic stamp. One is reminded of Kretschmer's description of the schizoid personality as one who seems shut off by a pane of glass from the rest of humanity. On the basis of this production alone a clinician would be justified in suspecting at least the beginning of a psychotic formation. Her other stories, while disheartening in their morbidity and melancholic overtones, are more integrated and prognostically less alarming.

To Ruth, life is sad and the world essentially hostile. In her stories people are mean, Negroes are oppressed, and the pressure of events unbearable. Ruth reacts in real life with some of the impotent passivity and despair of the passages quoted above. Another instance of this trend may be seen in (9), which concerns a crippled boy who wonders what life holds for him; an operation is possible but the child does not seize upon it with hope. Usually Ruth is an observer, a dreamer rather than a doer—but not always. Sometimes, in contrast, she reacts with the rebellion and defiance of the Negro slave in (10) who insists on teaching her children literacy despite lashings from her master. Another example of active resistance and self-determination is found in (12) which concerns a scolding aunt who wants her niece to marry, but the latter refuses and maintains her ground stubbornly. How much of the counter-aggression is overt and how much is subjective and unexpressed is open to question.

In such a setting, disturbed family relationships would be expected, and it is known that her home is broken. However, Ruth may find some solace in a warm and affectionate mother. Wherever mother characters are mentioned, the relationship with the daughter is an affectionate one. Thus in (11) a girl expresses grief for her mother who has just died. She remembers her mother's voice as she used to read the Biblical lines about the Lord giving and the Lord taking away. "Yet sometimes I wonder if it is worth the receiving of the gift," she concludes dolefully, "if he must always take it away." If such stories represent the real and not simply a wishful relationship with her mother, they may throw light on the nature of some of her fantasies. In several places the TAT gives evidence that she may seek escape from her unhappiness in dreams of maternity. Although husbands are provided to complement the scene, little real interest is shown in men as such. There are no healthy girl-boy stories of dates and dances. From this clue, and others like it, one may surmise that her companionship with young men is limited.

Ruth is clearly a very unstable girl, and the beginnings of either an affective or schizoid psychosis is a distinct possibility. Deprived, conflicted, hostile, and depressed, her inadequate defenses seem to be crumbling and precipitating her into deeper pathology. Therapy is urgently needed.

RORSCHACH TEST

Ruth's output on the Rorschach is constricted with only 17 responses, including several quite unusual ones. This would correspond to ambition for quality and originality combined with a restraint in responsiveness. Ruth is not easily stim-

ulated, but what she does absorb gains a personal coloring. We will see that it gains too much of it at times. Her constriction appears to be a necessary defense against the confusion which stimulation causes in her. This is corroborated by the fact that she can only see three popular responses, and also by her reaction to color on the Rorschach cards. Her Rorschach record manifests definite color shock. Faced for the first time with the fully colored card VIII, she is unable to see the most clearly outstanding forms (the popular "animals"). Similarly, any new social situation will elicit so much embarrassment as to impede natural, easy reactions. Instead, she gives an anatomy response of decidedly poor quality (a heart, with arteries and chambers in odd and wrong positions). Body pre-occupation is frequently expressed in anatomical concepts.

Though Ruth often seeks refuge from the outside world within her own "walls," she feels very uneasy and concerned within them. Then her judgment fails her. This anatomy response is the only attempt she makes to use color; she never recovers from the failure, never tries again in an open, determined way. However, on card X, in her very last response, she sees a rather self-willed and unusual man's face with "blue eyes and a grayish-blue beard." This is a strange handling of color; the "eyes" are very vague, but they are blue. The "beard" however, while good in shape, is doubtlessly green and can hardly be considered grayish-blue. It seems that Ruth uses the events which life presents to her in the same way she uses these blots—for a diving board into her own prevalent ideas and dreams. Since, in her rather negativistic independence, she wishes to see a "kingly face with a crown" mainly in the white space between and around the colored area, she uses whatever offers itself for her interpretation, regardless of its fitness. If there were less negativism and anxiety involved, the pathology of such an attitude would be more severe. In a girl of her age, ambition, and fears, it suggests confused and willful behavior arising from a desire for independence which is not well based and will probably lead to failures. Obviously it is intended to show originality and social display.

Her reaction to shading explains her deeper mechanisms to some extent. Three of the responses are "cloud" and "smoke" concepts, indicating a semi-awareness of an inner diffuseness and cloudiness of emotionality. They are close to, and at one point combined with, black color responses (C'), thereby documenting the dysphoric feeling tone which is so marked in this girl. Also, steam, smoke, and cloud are "coming up"; such movement of an inanimate and, for that reason, uncanny, ghostlike nature, completes the impression of the girl's mood. Ruth is not happy.

She was happier, it seems in earlier childhood, but there again, rivalry problems come up. On card VII, two elves are seesaw rocking. But then they "seem to be both up at the same time," which her competitive personality apparently is not able to enjoy. On card III, "two women are pulling at the same pot, trying to pull it each from the other; they have no hair"; these women without the feminine charm of their hair are involved in frustrating competition. On card II, people are kneeling and arching their arms. Nowhere do we find movement of self-assertion or enjoyment.

The explanatory dynamics for Ruth's dissatisfaction may partly be seen in her sexual attitude. Her feminine concepts are all subdued and anxious; she pierces

the shading of card IV in a highly individualistic delineation, seeing a "bust of 2 women on a column." They kneel and lean and are "busts" deprived of their full bodies and of life. Her male figures, although more rather than less "spiritual" in that they have heads only, still are glorified as to their power. Both her men wear crowns on their bearded heads. Both are seen by the use of white space mainly. Is Ruth's negativism primarily "masculine protest," a protest against her role, but also against that of the kingly male? The fact that she is unhappy about her own role becomes very evident when she calls the bottom part of card VI, the usual symbol of femininity, "a dirt wall." A "pole goes into the dirt wall, so you can still see a little of it [of the pole]." This is active rejection. Femininity is dirty. At her age such rejection means no longer the ambivalence expected in a child; it must already have spread out and formed a tensely dissatisfied, adolescent personality, extremely critical of an environment that has contributed to her refusal to grow into her role, which by now must be called maladjustment.

Ruth is intelligent but immature. Her feminine role was rejected. She is unhappy and critical of society. Her criticism spills over occasionally, but as a rule it is kept caught in melancholic moods of loneliness and isolation.

GRAPHOLOGY

A very big inflated writing indicates extreme, almost pathologically autistic self-absorption. Its slant is considerable, increasing at the end of words to indicate an impulsiveness that realizes itself and comes to expression. However, there is some effort at control. Secondary narrowness (maintained distances of downstrokes *within* "m" and "n" shorter than *between* them), and places of more than normal, of almost mechanical regularity, indicate that there is strong desire for behavior control. But control is not sufficiently effective (places of irregularity and increased slant) or non-vital and mechanical. (An empty regularity of thin strokes is achieved without pressure.)

The entire writing is thin and watery; there is no sign of vitality and force. However, there are very considerable signs of dreaminess and of high ambitions, leading to wish-fulfillments in the less concrete, less exacting realm of fantasies. The letter "I," often weak and of prostrated slant, always shows wide, balloon-like flourishes which are all the more prominent since they are about the only ones in which the upper zone shows. Loops of "l" and "k" are relatively narrow, meaning that immense ego-dreams absorb all her capacity for planning and scheming and that she increases her floating ambitions while she is, or maybe because she is, too fearful to form the more hopeful, more positive, creative type of sweet daydreams which is so frequent in adolescents. There is depression in the devitalized, often quite anemic stroke, a depression often counteracted in movements toward heights, as in flight (uphill, flying base-line treatment, and in high upper zone strokes and loops). But most of the upper zone strokes finally bend as if under a burden. This girl shows resignation, almost despair. Her lower zone letters are relatively less impaired. Some stem against the right side, as we often see it in writings of frigid women who, basically dominating, seem to fight against the submissive aspects of their sexual role.

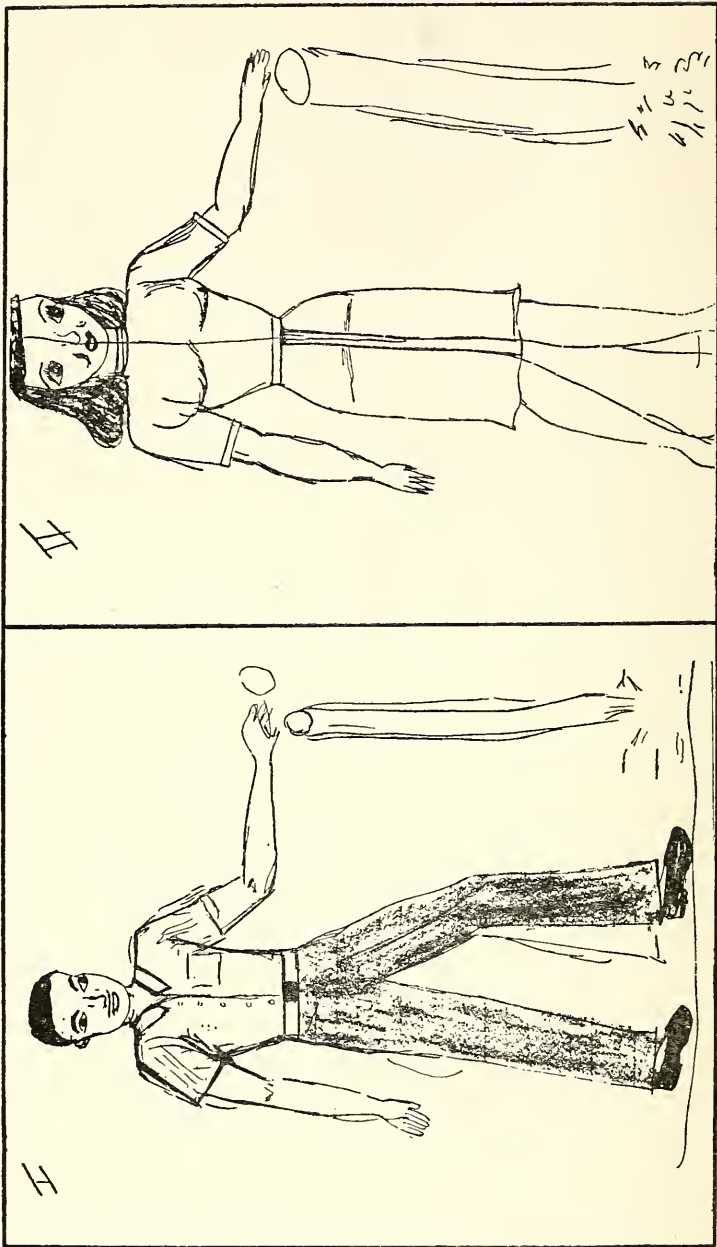


PLATE XXII—Human Figure Drawings by Ruth (adolescent).

There is an inclination to contain her struggle. Some of the tall, fine letters seem so helplessly entangled that they appear almost confused. The narrowness of the "o" and "a" forms denotes extreme anxiety at the core of the middle zone, an anxiety which is shut-in most of the time in firmly closed shapes but which has access to expression in others, tending toward openness. We can assume some rather unusual actions of impulsive character from Ruth. But they permit only very partial relief from the inner tension produced by her pent-up sentimentality. It is sentimentality rather than deep emotion, because of the enormous self-pity included as a defense mechanism in a basically pessimistic child.

HUMAN FIGURE DRAWING

In considering Ruth as an example of a maladjusted adolescent, we must bear in mind that she is Negro and that some of the individual traits projected in the drawings refer to general cultural characteristics of a minority and essentially discriminated group. Such features as identification with the stronger masculine role assigned to a forceful and matriarchal mother, the sense of traumatization and feelings of rejection by the environment, the reaction of retreat into fantasy drive, ambitions, and self-inflation, and the not unlikely paranoid tinge to Ruth's social reactions, are all to be viewed in the light of the realistic disadvantages that beset her racial group.

Ruth does not embrace the traditional female role with any warmth. She draws the male first, which is an expression of some sexual protest, and in the associations proceeds to check many of the traits accorded the figure for herself. She openly acknowledges that she would like to be like him, while in regard to the female, she limply answers the question if she would like to be like her, "I am." Both characters, male and female, are described as determined to acquire a professional education. Intelligence is highly rated and precisely estimated in terms of achievement for both characters. The male will become an engineer, and the female will become a doctor. They will both marry mates on their own educational level. The male is permitted to marry at 28, while marriage of the female is postponed from 30 to 33 years of age, and then only "maybe." This is indicative of personal discouragement in regard to her future as a desirable female and also of a compulsive drive for career achievement and distinction. It is not clear which is primary, and in what dynamic way the two factors are related. Dissatisfaction with her body and her personal charms is apparent in the drawings. Also, an enormous drive for self-expression on a large social canvas as retaliation for the social rejection that she has suffered is projected independently of her sense of body inferiority.

The drawings are especially outstanding for their force of ego expansion locked in fantasy chambers. The figures are space-filling in all dimensions, and the female does not even have enough room on the page. The environment given to her is not copious enough for her expansive and expressive needs. A heavy line of self-assertion and isolated self-enclosure gives evidence of an aggressive, spirited and rather anxious personality. The initial line is timorous and uncertain, but Ruth encloses the figures and all details with a decisive and protective heavy line. She is very defensive and reactive to her feelings of weakness and

inferiority. The abundant and rather precise detailing points to obsessive-compulsive characteristics, an elaborated fantasy life, and a strong drive for ideal self-expression.

Ruth gives considerable emphasis to the hips, breasts, and midline of the skirt, which, in combination with the coquettish facial expression, suggests that she is inclined to use her sexual characteristics aggressively. The disturbed treatment of the breasts and the greater virility and robustness of the female figure convey the impression of intense mother attachment and identification. The male is a weak reflection of the female figure. Shoulders are narrower; the face, grooming, and clothing detail are more effete and dandyish in the male than in the female. Insecurity, in terms of a placating facial expression, the use of a ground line, and shaded shoes, is projected upon the male figure, as are graphic indications of dependency (buttons, buckle), affectional deprivation (pocket), and body preoccupation (midline).

Shading, which is indicative of anxiety, is largely concentrated on the trousers of the male, an area of sexual connotations, and hair of both figures, which has sensual implications. Thus, considerable anxiety is expressed in regard to sexual impulses and sensual needs. The odd theme of bouncing the ball, a theme which is unrelated to the appearance of the figures, the wide crotch, and the midline opening of the female skirt reinforce the impression that Ruth has engaged in some sexual practices. The cutting off of the finger nearest to the phallic-like ball on the male figure and the reinforcement of the left hand of the female figure would suggest that Ruth is quite guilty and is punishing herself for sex play. The female figure is given an especially short and revealing skirt, while the neckline is brought tightly up to the neck in excessive restraint. Ruth has a tendency to impulsive self-indulgence, and then sudden and severe restraints. Exhibitionistic needs are strong. Clothes elaboration and general interest in grooming indicate the importance of social prestige and possessions in Ruth's system of values.

Arms of both figures are long and powerful. This accords with the repeated expression of ambition noted in the associations. Fingers are aggressively speared and well articulated, but compressed in tension. Achievement and mastery of the physical world is very important to Ruth, but she is anxious, oversensitive to social opinion to the point of paranoid tendencies, and is vigorously compensating for a traumatized and deprived childhood. The somewhat weaker male who is given more display value is not uncommon in the tradition of a race whose men have been socially discouraged from achievement. The eyes of the female are large, curious, and somewhat frightened. The impulses toward movement, which is so marked in the posture of the two figures, suffer from inhibition and doubt, resulting in static and blocked movement effects.

In summary, we see in Ruth a very intense drive for self-expression, sensual satisfaction, and achievement, which have for cultural reasons and reasons of specific environmental background been continuously frustrated. This has served to intensify the self-protectiveness, the tight defenses, the suspicion, and the drive to master the environment with whatever means that prove to be effective. A certain ruthlessness has risen out of her deprivations and fear, with aggressive impulses that are only weakly contained. The anxiety, aggression, turmoil, and

tense conflict between self-expression and restraint that we see in Ruth's drawings are so great as to indicate the need of psychiatric help in weathering the storm of adolescence. The impulse drives are as forceful as the restraints, resulting in emotional wear and tear that is leading to considerable frustration and depression. Suicidal concomitants to an aggressive and sadistic trend are not unlikely in this girl. For Ruth, adolescence has come upon more hardened realism and frustration than for our better adjusted, sentimental girls of the higher socioeconomic brackets.

HORN-HELLERSBERG TEST

Ruth is more deeply involved with sex problems than girls usually are at her age. In 50 per cent of the pictures there is either a direct hint of love or sex—for instance, "Kidnapped Girl" or "The Love Letter"—or there is an unmistakable symbolism, men with abnormal body forms or a nymph and a thirteen-year-old bathing beauty. Both of the remaining pictures carry forms or shades which easily can be defined with anatomical forms. One can assume a conscious as well as an unconscious preoccupation with sex problems. Concrete reference to a world which surrounds her is almost missing. "Burning incriminating love letters" is a reference to a factual event and "My dog" also indicates a concrete reality. There are several drawings highly emotional in tone: "Stormy Sea—Peaceful Land" (see picture 1), and another, "Sister who tears a child on its hair" (see picture 2). These two pictures were drawn with much unnecessary shading which makes them unclear. Smudgy, indefinite lines are used for the other drawings too. Sometimes they increase the blackness to a heavy pitch. The thirteen-year-old bathing beauty is completely submerged in blackness, and also an inner part of an open flower (see picture 3). The girl's copious use of shades expresses inner pressure and confusion. On chart A, 30 per cent of all drawn objects are listed in column IV, "Emotional Values concerned with Own Person"; while the objective zone is reduced to 8 per cent. This low figure indicates that she is hardly able to concentrate on any object for work or school which demands some objectivity. Her emotional and sex problems dominate her life and most probably absorb a great amount of energy.

What are her reflections on this main object, namely sex and love? There are three men pictured, all showing abnormally deformed parts. One has a peacock tail (see picture 4); another has an enormous foot, and the third has a high collar and appears almost goiterous. For picture 5, "A Girl over an Indian's Back in the Canoe," she comments: "Kidnapped Girl; the Indian's back is painted black. It seems to be his backside." There is a girl above him with huge breasts hanging down. She is bending down, in vigorous body movement which lacks the definiteness of clear form. The same bending forward movement shows a "Nymph" (see picture 6). Her knees are high while she is seated and the bathing beauty also has the same lifted knee. On the whole, the male is either grotesque or cruelly aggressive but the girls also show unconscious aggression and luring movements towards the men. Sexually this would mean that her terror of being kidnapped is counteracted by aggression, as if she wanted to change the sex roles in order to master her anxiety. The picture with the large open

flower, very black in the center, shows over the center a male sex form representing a petal. This picture may be a projection of her own wishful thinking to possess male as well as female organs.

Ruth's attempt to solve her problems in the direction of her neurotic tendencies are of an extremely strenuous character. Her over-preoccupation with these problems and her unwholesome attempts at solving them will absorb more and more of her energy and she may break down under this burden. She needs help in order to understand herself and her feminine role in a more pleasant way. The only female in the drawings who does not play a sexual role is the girl who drags her little sister by her hair. This picture is as far from motherliness as the love letters which appear to have only "incriminating purposes" are far from real love. In spite of her great absorption in these sex themes, she is far from finding anything pleasant in a feminine life and must feel utterly dejected about herself and almost as trapped as a kidnapped girl.

One can guess that Ruth's emotional past must have offered her various traumatic experiences which have destroyed any outlook for pleasantness in feminine living. She is a Negro child whose parents were born in South Carolina. For this family, the transition from the South to New York will have resulted in great confusion with regard to understanding the world around them. This is not only typical for this girl but for many other newcomers. Yet the emphasis on sex is for her the only means of finding some control of the situation. This is a dangerous experiment, but probably fostered by the competitive strivings of females which she sees glorified in American movies. Finding herself at the lowest strata of respect and social recognition, the use of sex as a means for power becomes automatically a dangerous threat to her self, as there is nothing to counterbalance this power drive by finding more wholesome satisfactions. The picture we gain through her may be that of a typical American girl who misunderstands the competition in sex striving and who uses her physiological makeup to obtain some compensation for the shame and discrimination into which an American Negro is born.

To judge different types of adolescents we must see them in the perspective of the adults living around them. Adolescence is only a transitional phase as a preparation for that particular adulthood they observe. For a Negro girl living in the slum quarters of colored people in New York, it is hard to anticipate the use of her good endowments and mental capacities in a successful and respectable adult world, as her chances for advancement are, objectively speaking, extremely slim.

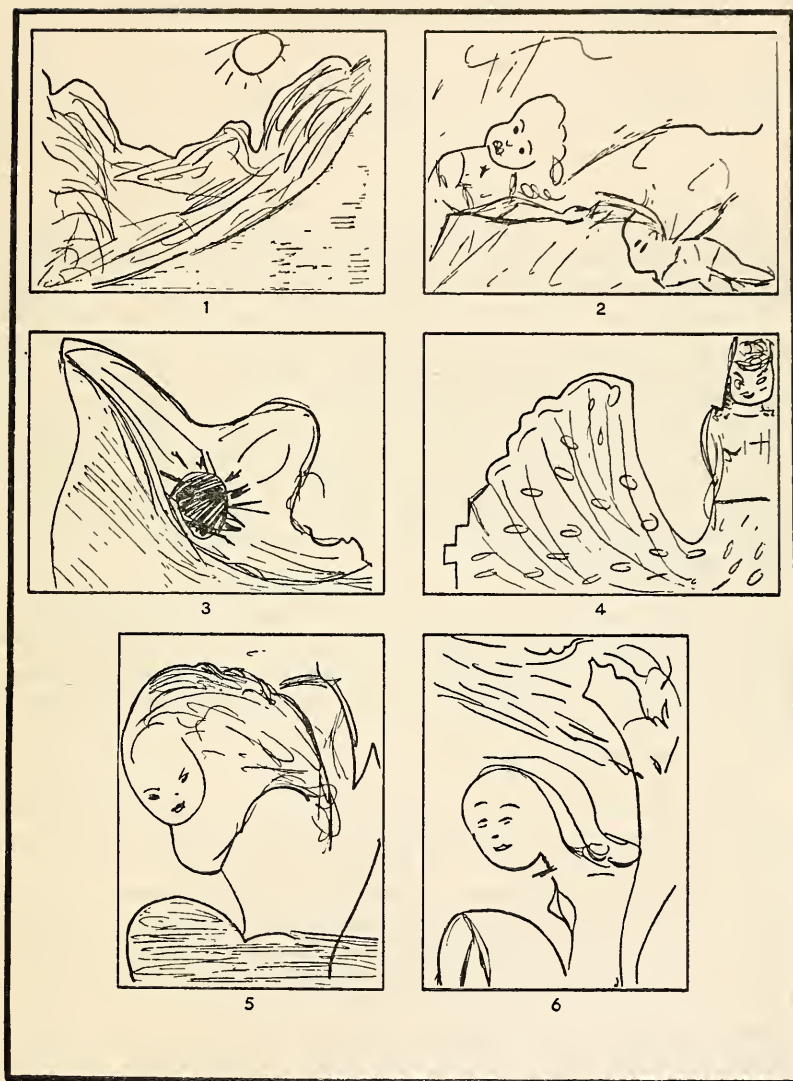


PLATE XXIII—Horn-Hellersberg Test pictures drawn by Ruth (adolescent).

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Stormy sea—Peaceful land | 2. Sister who tears a child on its hair |
| 3. The flower with the black center | 4. A man with a peacock tail |
| 5. A girl over an Indian's back in a canoe | 6. The tree nymph |

T H E L M A

Adolescent

SUMMARY

Thelma is an anxious (G, R), tense (FD), strained (G, HH) girl. She is quite fearful (R, FD) and feels that the world is dangerous (R). Alert (HH) and extremely sensitive (FD, TAT), she may put up a front of boldness and sophistication at times (FD), but she needs protection from its realities (HH).

Fortunately, she is well rooted in her family (G), and since she experiences life against this secure family background (G), it acts as a sort of shock absorber and protects her against the outside (R). Withdrawal (R, TAT, G) and escape into day-dreaming and fantasy life (R, FD, TAT, G) is another defense. Her escape into esthetic preoccupations is also a way of evading problems (TAT). Her introversive egocentricity (FD, G), self-absorption (G), and self-indulgence (G) conflict with her need for social contact (FD), for she needs support (FD), approval (FD, G), and understanding (FD) from the environment. She is quite shy (R, FD, G) and uncertain (FD), tending to assemble outside stimuli rather than to accept them (R).

The conflict between her need for recognition and her fear of inadequacy results in much strain and anxiety, also in discouragement and depressive feelings (G). She is quite restless (G), but her wavering self-assertion (R, G) is followed by giving in and resignation (R). She accepts this resignation rather well, as it removes the challenge which creates the tension (G). She is still somewhat naive, idealistic, and sentimental (TAT), optimistically (TAT) looking for the pleasant aspects of life (HH).

Although her ambitions seem to have been toned down (G), there is still conflict over the need for recognition (TAT, FD) and the safety and relaxation which marriage would seem to offer (FD). Her interest in a career and in intellectual accomplishments appears to be somewhat forced (FD).

Sexually, she is rather immature (G) and there appears to be some reluctance (R) in her limited and tentative acceptance of the feminine role (R). She seems oriented toward the traditional feminine role of motherhood (TAT), but there is not much indication of sexual excitement (HH) and her final feminine adjustment is far away (HH). There were some suggestions of masculine identification on the HH, but the FD found that she was afraid to embrace either the masculine or the feminine role. There is both fear of and an unconscious wish for sexual intrusion (FD), but her relationships with males are remote (FD); they are not yet a reality for her (HH). She is shy, uncertain, and apprehensive in her relations with boys and seems to feel rejected by them (FD). There is much body concern (R, FD) and tension, repressed body display tendencies (FD), and discouragement about her physical appeal (FD). There is a desire to escape from the acuteness of the sexual problem (R).

There are no indications of family tensions (TAT), although there may be rivalry with a sister (FD). The home seems to be female dominated (FD), and

there is strong attachment and identification with the mother (FD, TAT) and perhaps identification with the sister (FD). Her relationship with her father is rather remote (FD).

Thelma appears to be less mature than the other girls of college age (FD), but her problems are explicitly adolescent (FD). She has good capacities (FD), and sufficient flexibility (HH) to overcome her difficulties.

THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

Thelma likes to be literary, and she actually writes well. She has excellent descriptive powers and is particularly good in the delineation of natural phenomena. Typical of her writing is this paean to nature for picture (9):

Spring first comes to a child's heart. She sends her early morning sun to awaken him and beckon him to the window. What does the child see in Spring that escapes the worry-wearied adult? Oh, a fairy-world of things that one must really stop to look at. The sun is not the warm bright object in the sky one sees every day. In Spring, it is the beacon of light that draws attention to the delicate colors, the lovely patterns, the jewels that dew-drops form. The child sees not green grass but a sea of delicate yellows and yellow-greens with a ribbon of a path dividing it. The world is a joy in Spring. The trees are friendly, sturdy, eager to receive the affections of its little students.

She is obviously a sensitive, introspective girl. In this passage and elsewhere she shows herself to be idealistic and youthful in spirit, esthetic, somewhat sentimental, and naive. The chief impression gathered from her TAT is that Thelma is a person who lives in art, nature, and her dreams. This type of girl is seldom very socialized, tending instead toward introverted substitutes for externalized living.

On the question of adjustment, most of her stories have a calm, serene, and even mildly euphoric quality with relative freedom from conflict and melancholy. While optimistic and hopeful, Thelma is overly subjective without a proper balance from social participation. She may be evading some of her basic problems by means of detachment and by escape into esthetic interests. Nevertheless, until now a functional equilibrium has been maintained.

Little is given about life at home. A sister appears briefly in one story, while maternal characters occur twice, once in a neutral and once in a favorable role. Insofar as deductions can be made, Thelma seems unconcerned about her family. Positive evidence of family tensions is absent. However, what may be a nostalgic yearning for infantile maternal dependence finds expression in the story about the child who prefers to stay home with mother, snuggling up close to her and "daydreaming about all the things little girls think of . . ." (1).

Interest in males is stronger but is still rather weak for a girl well advanced in adolescence. In one story a girl thinks of the fun she had at a school dance and dreams of the future (3), while in another two sisters prepare to serve as hostesses at a club party (8). In (5) there is a rhapsody to married love, which is reproduced in part:

It seemed so trite a phrase to hear people say "They have each other and that is enough" but for the first time Helen and John understand its full meaning. To know that they would face the future together seemed somehow to strengthen them. The sorrows and cares that might come will only be half as great for there are two to bear the burden. Their joys and ambitions will grow to twice the size for there are two to help shape the future.

If space permitted, (6) might be quoted to show her genuine delight in small children. Thelma is oriented toward the traditional feminine role of our society; she looks forward to the pleasures of married companionship and motherhood but with such soaring, over-idealized expectations that her attitudes must be considered somewhat unrealistic, even though such attitudes are supposedly common among adolescent girls. It is doubtful if this quiet, withdrawn girl has much actual experience with boys, nor do we know how deeply felt are her emotional reactions despite the purple passages of (5). Two misperceptions of the sex identity of the human figures in (4) and (9) suggest masculine identification, but one hesitates in this context to offer the usual interpretations.

The only real intimation of worldly ambition is found in story (7) where the heroine anticipates an interview which she hopes will open up an entirely new career. She is nervous, but the kind interviewer makes her feel relaxed. On the subject of accomplishment may also be mentioned the conflict within the ambitious artist in (4) between painting as he desires and painting as the critics expect him to paint. He postpones decision, closing his eyes and momentarily shutting out his cares. Passivity and daydreaming for the artist—and perhaps for Thelma—are much easier than decisive action.

RORSCHACH TEST

There is a good amount of daydreaming fantasy in this record, with an even number of humans seen in movement and simple form responses. However, here M-responses (human movement) stop suddenly with the first fully colored card, which brings out anatomical anxiety responses and other vague concepts of diffused body-concern. The "heart" which she perceives on card VIII has "all arteries and veins missing." Her hypertension-anxiety is in this very first response to color and she is unable to free herself from it. The next card, IX, is forced together by ambitious efforts to unite the diffuse impressions of the color stimuli. "I see a sword in the middle, it is separating a symmetrical design. The surrealistic impression of a deer and butterfly wings would all make an interesting coat of arms."

Thelma is, in fact, at a loss about the shapes and their lack of unity. If we assume that color stands for the emotional values of outside stimuli, they certainly are handled with an effort to assemble rather than with a primary acceptance of the experience as an entity. The protective and distinguishing "coat of arms" is useful in its meaning of family belonging as a shock absorber if the world becomes too dangerous. For dangerous it is, as is revealed in Thelma's very first response to card I: "An animal, sneering angrily at me." The idea of

some angry face or mask as a first response, if almost popular at puberty, is not too common later on.

Thelma's social shyness and basic fear is somewhat stronger than befits her age; but she has devised a good variety of coping mechanisms. Her fantasy-withdrawal, as expressed in the amount of M-responses, is not crudely fearful, but is more a refined, cautious, tact-creating type. This is particularly true for her sexual fears. In two places, usually interpreted with feminine implications, Thelma uses the delicate shadings with a refined feeling tone for their tactile and aesthetic values. If there is still reluctance about her full acknowledgement of her feminine role, there also is good prospect for acceptance in the very near future. The usual "women" on card VII, the most feminine card according to the frequency of responses with feminine symbolism, are "figurines, only slightly moving forward, wearing stocking caps or queer hairdos." Their movement is restricted and their hair or clothing is stressed. This is characteristic of her tentative and limited acceptance of her role, of the slowness of her development towards it. And her responses to card VI, the more direct and crudely challenging "sex card," show still more childishness and are close to a shock type of reaction. Thelma sees it all as a leaf, which is a response frequently received in children's records. But again it is elaborately worked up with a "delicate design."

The interpretation of the usual masculine symbols shows, correspondingly, a remoteness, a desire to remove the acuteness of the problem. On card II she sees "far at a distance, a Mohammedan castle" and on card VI "Colonial furniture." Some negativism comes up, always ending with slight resignation. As often as she interprets background-white instead of the foreground blot, she perceives the figures as "separated by a wall" or "worried looking." Although some of her very best responses are of such independence-tending kind, their content indicates the price she has to pay for attempts toward freedom, and she gives in. Most of her humans indicate passivity—they just dare to lift their hands.

An Eiffel tower on card X, an attempt for masculine protest, is later degraded to "but a somewhat deformed representation." Gradually, though slowly, Thelma will work herself through her problems of adolescence and there is no reason to foresee maladjustment.

GRAPHOLOGY

This writing is clean and neat in an all-out effort for social acceptance. Nothing is allowed to interfere with smoothness and presentability. The single forms are round and soft, inviting approval. The margins are wide and the expansion moderate. Thelma is modest, unassuming, and rather shy. Yet the roundness takes place not only or mainly in the connective strokes, but more frequently in the o-a forms—the self-sufficient circles. She is more introversive than her smooth outside adjustment would lead one to expect. While her inner life is not particularly rich (conventional forms with only slight individual development), there is a good deal of warmth and desire for contacts present, enough to remove danger of withdrawal which otherwise could result from her day-dreaming introversion.

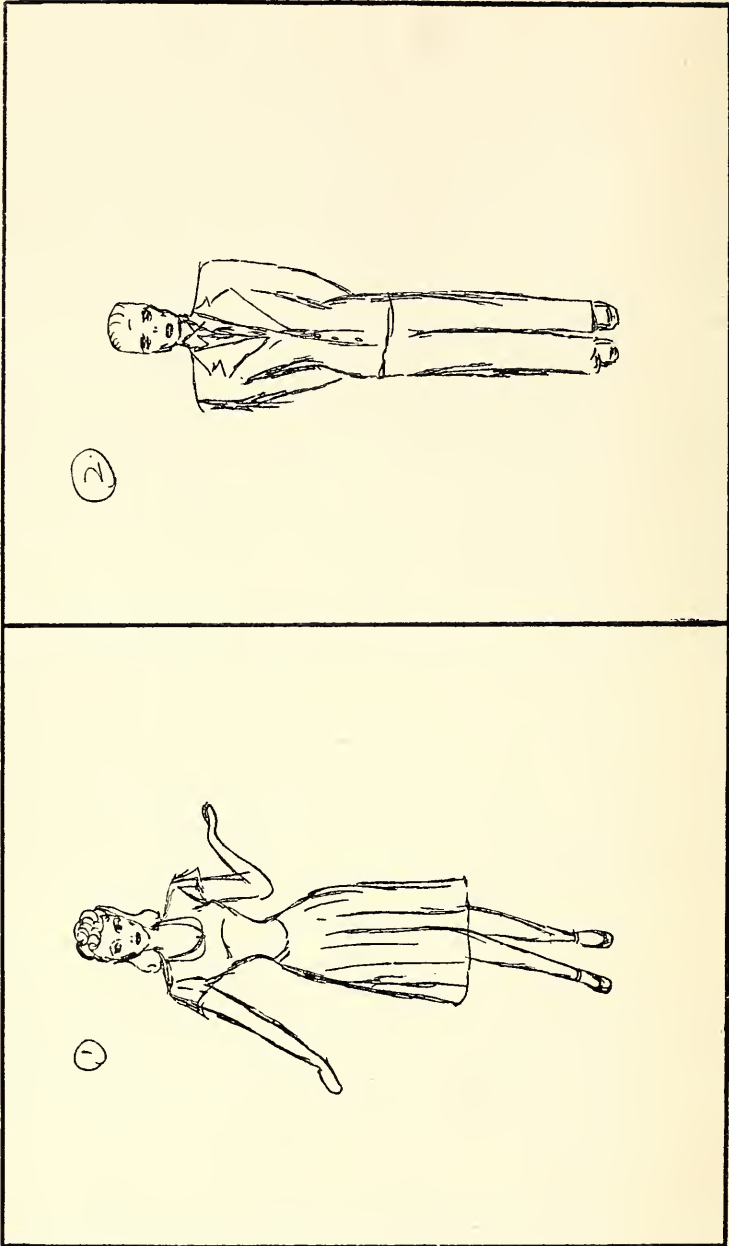


PLATE XXIV—Human Figure Drawings by Thelma (adolescent).

Yet her rather smeary stroke manifests concern about herself, with a strong inclination toward a self-spoiling and self-coddling attitude. Her own comfort is over-important to her, so that she appears to be egotistical despite her friendly interest in others. Also, the increasing size of letters as the words are being written, the larger endings, that is, reveal a self-absorbed attitude which we encounter more often in early adolescence, and which is the rule in early childhood.

The desire for relaxation and comfort may well be a counter-reaction to the girl's hypertension at this point. It prevails over the underlying, more ambitious tendencies which we see in some elongated upward movements. Most of her upper loops, however, are blurred, filled with ink, indicating a relatively slow speed and hesitation. Irregularity in size, denoting the wavering self-assertion, reveals strain and anxiety as the result of the struggle between her need for recognition and acclamation and her very deep fear of inadequacy.

Unlike the upper loops, the lower loops of the g, j, y, p, f forms are as a rule clear and not blurred in Thelma's writing. They are rather deep and, while not exaggerated, are still very well pronounced. It seems that Thelma is well rooted in her family, that her family means much to her, and that she experiences her life for a great part on the background of her family. (Conventional forms were mentioned before.)

There is not much indication of sexual excitement, at least not in the zone and strata of active impulsion. In the middle zone, however, which is the region of daily life experiences, there is a very pronounced unrest, blurring and a fluctuation of slant in the cardinal downstroke which can only appear on the basis of frequent impulse interference. We conclude that the daydreams which have been evidenced in many ways (slow, round forms and loops, circles, softness of stroke) are to a large degree of sexual content. This state, too, is more frequently found in prepuberal and puberal girls than in Thelma's age, so that we must state that Thelma is sexually rather immature.

Intellectually, she is quite up to her age group. Her ambitions must have been much higher before; now they are toned down (high loops decreased, downhill words and lines). Thelma is somewhat discouraged and has depressive feelings but, embedded in some dependency in a relatively harmonious family life, she has come to accept some resignation quite well—it removes the challenge. It is likely that Thelma uses somatic excuses for a decrease in ambition and for a certain slowness in behavior.

All these problems do not seem so overwhelming as to be conducive to maladjustment. Thelma's withdrawal, slowness, and immaturity are all helpful mechanisms used in the process of coming to grips with herself.

HUMAN FIGURE DRAWING

Thelma's problems and conflicts, although showing remnants of the day-dreaming, wish-fulfilling activities of the prepuberal and the body preoccupation and physical tension of the puberal, are explicitly adolescent. They press closely upon realistic decisions, decisions that are complicated in this instance by poor health and a strong sense of economic deprivation. Thus, the drive for

attractive appearance, self-display, and coquetry, which plays an important role in Thelma's private world, is diverted into a rather forced interest in and enthusiasm for intellectual accomplishment and a career. The alternative between a career and domestic relaxation requires imminent solution in Thelma's mind. She tells this tale of conflict in the associations and in the actual drawings themselves by associating the male with drive and career and giving the female a primary interest in home life with perhaps a bit of study in spare time. It is felt also that Thelma is shy, uncertain, and rather apprehensive about her relationship with boys. She is discouraged about her physical appeal and prospects for competition as a female. Thus she appears to marry the girl off in her drawings at a fairly early age in order to avoid the sexual and dating problem, and projects her inability to satisfy her strong interest in clothes and physical embellishment upon her meager circumstances.

All physical aspects of her life and basic drives are given indirect and rather oversublimated expression. She is frankly afraid of life and of the decision to firmly embrace either the conventional male or female role. She is, in her deeper instincts, in need of the support, acceptance, and relaxation that home and marriage might offer, and yet is troubled by a disturbing fear that she might fall into a rut and suffer from ego atrophy. In the figures and the traits that she assigns them, she weaves her own doubts.

The female is drawn first which is some expression of self-acceptance. The girl is described as 23, married, and has one girl. Preference for girls is seen as rising out of a strong identification with the mother and older sister as well as a female-dominated home. The girl is trying on a new dress. In the safe and respectable context of marriage, Thelma dares to indulge her interest in appearance and possessions. She is further described as a housewife and a student with ambition to become a laboratory technician. Thelma skirts around her conflicts, being loathe to make any compromises. The preferred occupation is distinctly linked to Thelma's concern about her body and health. She is recorded as a childhood hypertensive. She imposes the health deficiency, only average looks and brains upon the male character, while reserving perfection in these matters for the female. Nevertheless, she drives the male on to a Master's degree in engineering, does not engage him in marriage until 32, projects shyness and nervous reactions to strangers upon him, worry about poor economic circumstances, a rather modest social life, but he is self-assured, will marry a girl that will look up to him, and his main wishes are to get a good position, marry, and attain recognition. Here we see that although she imposes her own imperfections upon the male, he does emerge with more drive and social status. Thelma has a flickering of this male component persistently interfering with her day-dreaming plans for "seeing things with her husband, visiting friends, admiring her new daughter, raise a family, and get a home"—features which are attributed to the girl figure.

Kindness, good temper, generosity and being nice to know are virtues stressed, underlining Thelma's tremendous need for social approval and understanding. There is contained a hint here and there that Thelma has few friends, is timid in making them, considers herself rather egocentric and too self-absorbed, and is afraid that she will be rejected by her friends if she surrenders herself to do-

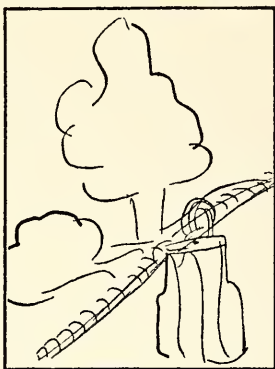
mestic smugness and safety and does not strive for independent recognition. The home offers only dim consolation, since she is anxious to prove to herself that she can make a distinguished adjustment outside of it. It is the male to whom she gives some of this confidence, independence and self-assurance. The age of the male is significantly that of her older sister, forcing into speculative view the problem of sibling rivalry with a better adjusted and more secure sister. There are many indications that Thelma has a tendency to overeat and is not satisfied with her figure or face, adding further discouragement to this body-preoccupied girl.

It is in this context of body preoccupation that the figures themselves may be discussed. We have an overperfect figure, posing tentatively, uncertainly and with one of her hands up in a forced and strained optimism. Daydreaming, wishful, compensatory thinking, and extreme sensitivity are expressed in the amount of detail, tension and lightness of line, the self-conscious display, and relatively good size of the figures. This tension is counteracted by fairly aggressive, middle placement, and somewhat bold body features. Breasts are indicated, and then erased for their overboldness. Emphasis upon the breasts and hips, the mouth, buttons and midline, all tend to substantiate the impression of close attachment to the mother. The tight stance and reinforced line between the legs of the female combine with the random lines of the skirt to mark areas of sexual interests, furtively entertained, and both fear and unconscious wish of sexual intrusion. The low, but modestly reinforced neckline accents Thelma's conflict between self-display and denial of such abandon and unworthy sexual thoughts. Aesthetic, superficial, and somewhat effete aspects of human beings are stressed, with clothes and grooming receiving a disproportionate emphasis.

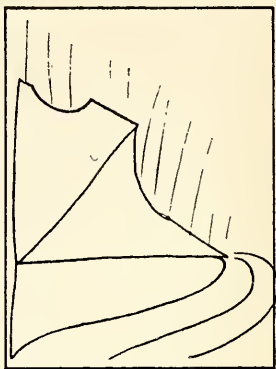
The much dimmer line on the male figure suggests a remote relationship with the father and with males in general. The male is just a weakened version of the glamorous female projection. He is given more independence and self-absorption. His eyes shut out the world, and his hands are drawn behind his back in fear of contamination with the imperfect realities. In the female the facial or social features are more distinctly outgoing, although the expression is one of painful uncertainty, and the stance one of extreme tension. The arms of the female are extended, but show conflict between the need for social contact and display, and egocentric body reference. The effort at boldness and sophistication is indeed a weak decoy. The male figure not only reflects the unfamiliarity that Thelma has with boys, but also feelings of rejection by them. Thelma's body concentration, sensitivity, dependence upon her mother, and fear of sexuality keep her rather less mature in terms of emancipation from the home than other girls of college age that have been studied. She is nevertheless regarded as having good capacities to overcome her difficulties in a constructive compromise adjustment.

HORN-HELLERSBERG TEST

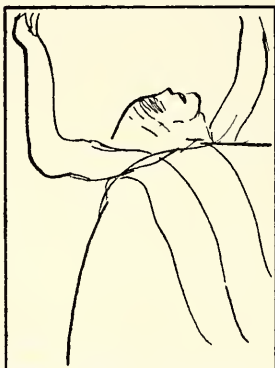
The concrete world, the actual environment of this girl, is not much portrayed in her test; this must have a reason. Only once does she draw the tops of roofs. Houses look empty and drab. It may be that part of the city which she sees



1



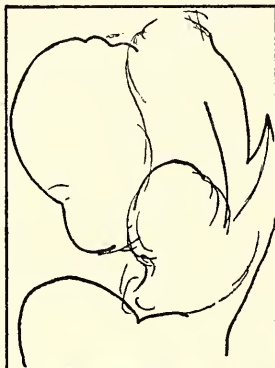
2



3



4



5



6

PLATE XXV—Horn-Hellersberg Test pictures drawn by Thelma (adolescent).

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Spring in Central Park | 2. A design |
| 3. Despair | 4. Lightning a nightmare |
| 5. The budding child | 6. The bather |

from her windows at home. Most of the other pictures show her holiday spirit, represented by parks (see picture 1), trees, flowers, and music (see picture 2). Some other pictures reveal definite struggle with emotional content which she is not quite able to handle yet. To these belongs picture 3, "Despair," and another which she calls "Nightmare and Lightning" (picture 4). She draws "A Budding Child" (picture 5), which may stand for a budding sense of her feminine role. But she comments on this in a literary way: "Bud of Youth." In this manner she places emphasis on something more general, a secret, a mystery. Her real life thoughts and struggles are disguised, and this seems to be a characteristic feature of this girl. She looks for pleasant sides of life and concentrates on matters which enliven her feeling or distract her from "Despair." It seems she needs protection from the reality of her outer surroundings and the reality of her instinctual life, namely what her femininity entails.

Such sublimating drives away from reality make her a typical ideational girl. She succeeds in feeling happy in many regards, but she conceals other matters which are disturbing to her and which shatter her balance. Such ideational trends can become very dangerous if they lead to complete repression. She may, in a rigid way, deny whole segments of the world and of herself. This danger does not seem to be acute at present. There are a variety of qualities which may save her from the danger of getting stuck in such tendencies; for instance, her flexibility is particularly good. In spite of limited perceptual observational ability, she is able to make quick and efficient use of given material. Her alertness prevents her being frightened or disturbed by new and unusual demands. She is skillful in finding sophisticated wording which conceals from herself that the intended drawings do not meet her own expectations. "My idea of," "Surrealistic view of . . .," "Just my interpretation," are her comments. There are numerous literary references. Verbal and musical expressions are closer to her creativeness than drawing is. Considering this fact, one must respect her ability to adapt to this particular task and the ease with which she produces ideas and fits them to given lines. These make us hope that she may find a more realistic view of herself and of the world.

She is living under considerable strain. Her self will not emerge as more secure unless she acquires more positive concepts of the feminine role. One does not notice a fight against such concepts but rather an avoidance and repressive mechanisms which produce either nightmares or pictures like "Despair," a human figure which bends its head backwards and throws its arms helplessly into the air. The profession this girl has chosen will give her much and real satisfaction: becoming a teacher of English and keeping music as a hobby will support her flexibility. Both fields may help her to avoid repressive and even neurotic tendencies.

There are no male figures in her test and only one realistic person, a bather "in lively swimming movement," picture 6. The bather is a female. The frequency of elements of a more puberal nature is great: wind, lightning, high waves. The roof tops are more symbolic of male than of female identification, while landscapes, insofar as she depicts them, carry more female features. The male is for her not yet a reality with attraction and illusion.

Her final feminine adjustment is still far away. We assume she has life expectations which go far beyond the narrow frame of her parental home. Both parents immigrated from Poland. One must credit this sincere adjustment struggle as she is surpassing the frame of her primitive upbringing. Whatever she will become will be the result of chances for which she is reaching out. Using free education in a city college, she is a typical self-made student whose life and adjustment struggle is much harder than it is usually admitted or publicly acknowledged.

12/9/38

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA



3 1262 05555 0742

136,706

5678m

v.16

c-2

